Here begynneth the prohemye vpon the reducynge / both out of latyn as of frenſſhe in to our englyſſh tongue / of the polytyque book named Tullius de senectute. Whiche that Tullius wrote vpon the diſputacõns & cõmynyacions made to the puiſſaũt duc Cato ſenatour of rome by Scipion & Lelius thẽne kyng yong noble knyghtes & alſo ſenatours of the ſaid rome / of the worſhipe / recõmendacyon & magnyfycence. that ſhold be gyuen to men of olde age / for theyr deſertes & experyence in Wyſedom of polytyque gouernaũce / & blamed them that reprouen or lothen olde age / & holde Caton exhorteth & coũſeilleth olde men to be Joyeful, and here pacyently olde age When it cometh to them, And holde Tullius at reuerence of Caton declareth by Waye of example. holde Enneus thaũcyent philoſophre purpoſeth and Wryteth in thre verſes compendyouſly vnto his frende Attitus alſo a ſenatour of Rome, holde he toke grete thought and charge for the gouernaunce of the comyn prouffyght, ffor Whiche he deſerued grete laude and honoure in preferryng the ſame named in latyn Res Publica kepyng the Romaynes proſperous / & defendyng them fro theyr aduerſaryes and rebelles, Whiche book Was tranſlated and thyſtoryes openly declared, by the ordenaunce & deſyre of the noble Auncyent knyght Syr Johan Faſtolf of the counte of Norfolk banerette. lyuyng the age of four ſcore yere. exercyſyng the Warres in the Royame of Fraunce and other countrees / ffor the diffence and vnyuerſal Welfare of bothe royames of englond and ffraunce by fourty yeres endurynge, the fayte of armes

haunteyng. And in admynystreyng Justice and polytique gouernaunce vnder thre kynges. that is to wete Henry the fourth. Henry the fyfthe. Henry the syxthe, And was gouernour of the duchye of Angeou and the cou-te of Mayne, Cappytayn of many townys. Castellys and fortressys in the said Royame of ffraunce/hauyng the charge and saufgarde of them dyuerse yeres, occupy-eng and welbyngе thre honderd spares and the tolles accustomed thenne/And yeldyng goody acompt of the forsaid townes castellys & fortresses to the seyd kynges and to theyr lyeutenauntes, Prynces of noble recomen-dacion, as Johan regent of ffraunce Duc of Bedforde Thomas duc of exestre, Thomas duc of clarẽce & other lyeutenaũtes/prayeng to take this reducyng patyently & submyttyng me to the amendyng & correction of the reder and vnderstonder, that is disposed to rede or haue ony contemplacion in thystoryes of this book, whiche were dralwen and compyled out of the bookes of thauncyent philosophers of Grece, As in thorygynal text of Tul-lij de Senectute in latyn is specyfyedy compendyous-ly, whiche is in maner harde the texte. But this book reducedy in Englysshe tongue, is more ample expowned and more swetter to the reder kepyng the Juste senten-ce of the latyn/

MVSEVM BRITAN NICVM

Hẽne for as moche as this book thus reducedy in to our englysshe is with grete instaũce labour & coste comen in to myn honde which I aduysedly

haue seen/ouer rede / and considered the noble. honeste/ and vertuo9 mater necessarily requysite vnto men stepte in age/and to yong men for to lerne/how they oWght to come to the same, to Whiche euery man naturelly desyreth to atteyne / And the mater and commynycacion of this said book bytWene that Wyse and noble man Cato/ on that one parte / and Scipio and Lelius tWo yonge knyghtes on that other parte. is moche behoefful to be knoWen to euery man. vertuous & Wel disposed of What some euer eage resonable that he be. Thenne by cause I haue not seen ony of the same here to fore. I haue endeuoured me to gete it With grete difficulte, and so goten/ haue put it in enprynte & dilygently aftir my lytil vnderstandyng corrected it/to thentente/that noble/ vertuo9 and Wel disposed men myght haue it to loke on & to vnderstonde it. And this book is not requysyte ne eke conuenyent for euery rude and symple man. Whiche vnderstandeth not of science ne connyng. and for suche as haue not herde of the noble polycye/and prudence of the Romaynes/but for noble, Wyse / & grete lordes gentilmen & marchalites that haue seen & dayly ben occuppyed in maters touchyng the publyque Weal / And in especial vnto them that ben passed theyr grene yongthe / and eke theyr myddle eage callyd virylyte / and ben approchid vnto senectute callyd olde and auncyent eage. Wherin they may see how to suffre & bere the same pacyently. and What surete & vertue ben in the same/And haue also cause to be ioyous & glad, that they haue escaped and passed the manyfolde perylles & doubteuous aduentures that ben in

Juuente & yongthe/as in this said booke here folowyng ye may more playnly see. Whiche booke endyted & wrote in latyn, the noble philosopher and prynce of Eloquence Tullius Consul Romayn. Within the breste of whom/ Phylosophye naturel and morall had chosen her domycile Out of whiche it hath ben translated in to frensh and after in to our Englysh tongue, as hier after al a longe ye may see,

a Also whan the said Tullius had made his booke de senectute, he after made another booke callid de amicicia, that is to saye of frendshipp In which he rehercth of two yong kinyghtes of Rome that one named Scuola. and that other Faunyus/bothe sones in lawe vnto Lelius a noble Senatour of Rome, and felaw and alyed in frendshipp with Scipio Affryean, whiche within fewe dayes to fore was ded. Hold they desyred to knowe of the frendshipp that was bytwene the said Scipio whyles he lyued/& Lelius theyr said fader in lawe. And of the disputacion in frendshipp, as alle playnly it appiereth in the same, Which booke was translated by the vertuous and noble Erle thesle of Wurcestre in to our englysh tongue/And by cause it is accordyng/and requysyte to haue frendshipp Joyned to olde eage/ I haue enpryntedy the said booke of frendshipp and annexed it to the booke of eage. Which booke of frendshipp is ful necessary & helpefful vnto euery estate & degree & after I haue sette in this said booke folowyng them bothe a noble treatys of the declamacion of two noble kinyghtes

Romaynes in makyng of two oracions to fore the Se-
nate to knowe wherin noblesse resteth. And thus this
volume is devyded in to three particuler werkes. whiche
ben of grete wysedom in olde age/very loue in frendship.
And the question wherin noblesse resteth. Whiche lytil
volume I haue empryse tenprynte vnder the vmbre and
shadowe of the noble protection of our moost dradde/soue-
uerayn and naturel lyege lord/and moost Cristen kyng
Kyng Edward the fourth/to whom I moste humbly by-
seche to receyue the said book of me William Caxton his
moost humble subget and litil seruaunt/and not to des-
deyne to take it of me so poure ignoraunt & symple a per-
sone. And of his moost habundynous grace to pardone me
so presumyng/beseehyng Almyghty god to kepe mayntē-
ne/and graunte to hym longe lyf and prosperous and
thaccomplyssement of his hye and noble desyres. And
aftir this short and transitorye lyf euirlastyng lyf and
Joye in heuen. Amen:

Here folowyth a remembraūce of thistoryes
h comprysed and touchyd in this present book
entitled Tullius de Senectute, Tullye
of olde age. as in the redyng shal more
playnly be sayd al a longe.

ffirst how Ennius an Auncien wrote purposeth vnto
his frend Attitus a Senatour of Rome:

How Attitus was recommended for kepyng of Justice prudence and attemperaunce

How Tullius wryteth this book, that Caton disputeth of olde age with two knyghtys of Rome named Scipion and Lelius/

How euery man desyreth to come to olde age

How ffolys complayne ayenst nature.

How Lelius wolde lerne of Caton to suffre easely age

How olde age ioyeth to be quyte of delectacyon of the flesh

How Themystocles gentilman of Athenes answered Seriphus a chorle

How olde age is not easy tendure in youthe

How olde aged men sholdy vse truly theyr crafftes with vertues.

How Quintus Fabius recouerd the cyte of Tarent in puyll

How the sayd Fabyus was vertuous in his ages

Here rehercith thauctor what Offices Caton had in rome

How Fabyus ordeyned, that thoffyces shold be youen to men wel disposed

How Fabyus not withstondyng his age exercised Armes,

Of the Attemperaunce of Fabyus

How Fabyus suffred Hanybal by meane of trebs to be ydle, by whiche his men of warre were disused, and fylle to sensualyte

How Fabyus alwey tendred the welfare of the comyn prouffyt, Of the grete besynes and thought that he tolke

for the recouer of the cyte of Tarente
How Salmator wold haue excused him of the losyng of a castel by whiche he was accused by Fabyus, sayeng Nam nili admisilles nūq̄ ego recepillem,
How Fabius dyde many goody dedes in tyme of werre and of peas
How Fabius resisted theym that wolde haue endamaged the comyn weal of Rome and theym that exercised not duly theyr offyces
How Fabius was dyuynour and knewe what was to come by prodyges
How Fabius was so constant in chere. that he dysmayed not for the deth of his sone
How grete prayseng the sayd Fabius deseruyd for his noble gouernaunce
Here Catou concludeth the Resons byfore said that olde age is not wretchid as he proueth by the lyf of Fabius
How Plato the philosopher at thage of four and twenty yere wrote bookes
How Socrates in thage of four score and fourten yere wrote a book how a man sholdy despise deth
How Gorgias lyuedy an hunderd and seuen yere, andy was neuir ydle
How symple answere / fooles makey whan they weye agedy
How Enneus likeneth his age to an hors that is swyft
How Caton was of the faculte of a lernedy man
How Enneus the pete had delectacyon in two thynges whiche were pouerte and olde age

Ere endeth the fyrst treatie / And begynneth the
seconde part

How Fabyus notwithstondyng his grete eage dyde
moche good prouffytably

How Lucius Paulus dyde/ grete good in his olde age

How Fabricius and Curius entended to the comyn
prouffyt in theyr olde age,

How olde Apius beyng a blynde preest counceylled the
Romaynes wysely

How kyng Pirrus was discomfyted by the counseyll of
old Apius forsayd

An example of old age lykened to the lodesman of a ship

The replycacion of Lelius & Scipion ayenst Caton
Of thoffyces of Rome as a knyght/ a trybune/ A Le-
gate, and a Consul,

How Caton answerith to the sayd replycacion

How Caton wolde neuir seace to counseyll the destructi-
on of Cartage for the welfare of the Romaynes

How Caton affermed that yf Quintus Fabyus had
lyued an hunderdy yere he wolde euir haue be vertuously
occupyed,

How the souerayn counseyllours of Rome were called
Senatours

How olde aged men in grece had souerayn dygnyte

How the comyn weel was mynussked by the gouernaunce
of yong men, and relyeued by olde aged men

How Nenius the pete answerde why and by whom the
comyn prouffyt was lost,

How defaulte of remembraunce is a defaulte in age/

How Themystocles remembryd in his yonge dayes, and Caton in his olde dayes

Of thepytaphes wryten on tombes and graues of men of worshyp

How olde men forgete not maters of charge as theyr debtes &c

How olde men desyre to knowe dyuynacyons

How emong pour peple of symple degre remembraunce abydeth

How the childeren of Sophocles accused theyr fader for his age sayeng he was a foole and wasted his goodes

How olde age discouraged not these noble philosophers fro studye / that is to wete Sophocles, Eliodus, Simonides, Terlitourus. Socrates. Gorgias, Omerus. Pitagoras, Democritus, Plato, Zenocrates, Zenon, Cleantes, Diogenes. and other

Studia philosophie et poetrie sunt diuine scaencie

How Caton commendeth labourage in tyllyenge sowyng londe and settyng of trees. and how olde age delyteth in lyke thynges

A good Nota why aged men plante and graffen trees

How Stacius the philosopher telleth notably the cause why

How Lelius and Scipion arguen gretely with Caton ayenst prayseng age

How olde men ben hateful after somme mennes oppynyon

How Caton proueth the contrarye. and how olde men louen yonge men

How Solon the tresyfyer lerned greke in his olde age

The Conclusion of Caton tolbchyng age

How Solon lerned to make versys in his olde age
How Socrates lerned to harpe in his olde age
Here endeth the seconde trayttye / And begynneth the thirde/
How Milo a stronge champyon of grece sowhedy in his age/that he myght not wraſtle as other dyde.
How Emilius repented not his strength loſt / as dyde Mylo,
Of Titus Cornutatus and Publius Crallus cou: seyllours/
A question of Scipion. yf that men lerned in the lawe/ lerned theyr connyng in age.
How and in what formal wyse/an aduocat muste pleede
Caton was of syxty and ten yere of age whan he made this book/
What tyme speche is acceptable/
How an aged man in propsynge longe processe . maye with worship remytte it to be pleded by yong men /
How noble thyng it is for to be an Informer/
How Cyrus kyng of Perse was ful attemperat in his age,
How Lucius Metellus a noble Counseyllour . and a bisshop in Rome was wyse in vnderstandyng / in his grete age/
How Nestor a kyng of Grece was a noble Informer
How kynge Agamenon desyred rather to haue wyse olde men than yongh knyghtes.
How Caton beyng four score and four yere old desyred to be no werrour/and repreteth of his owen persone how

he was content with age hauyng thiese offyces Quel-
tour. Conſul and Tribune/
What thynges he requyred to a ſenatour / an alderman
or a counſeyllour /
How bodyly ſtrengthe is not requyred emong Juges
Of Titus pincius a champyon in ſtrengthe/
How attemperaunce in ſtrengthe is a grete vertue. as a
man to take vpon hym as he may perfourme,
How Hercules and the nobles of grece made Juſtes in
the hye montayne of Olimpus.
How Milo was ſo ſtronge that he bare an oye an his
ſholders,
How Caton demaundeth of Lelius/whether he had le-
uer the ſtrength of Milo/or the wyſedom of Pytagoras
How Caton queſtioneth lelius Scipion & pitagoras
And how he aſſoylleth the queſtyon
How adoleſcencye ought rather be deſyred than childhode
How nature werketh his offyce in euery age
How ſekenes is appropryd to the age of childhode/cruelte
to yongthe/honoure to virylite moderance and attempre-
raunce to old age
How Scipion diſcomfyted the kynge of Munydye.
How Malcrilla kyng of Auſtrique keyng four ſcore &
ten yere of age vſid moche to goo on foote/& not to cou-
re his hede/
How they that ben brought vp harde in yongthe / maye
better endure in age
How ſtrengthe is not requyred in olde age
How auncyent men ought to exercyſe offices of dygnyte,

Holw that Publius the sone of Publius Affricans sone grewe to grete noblesse by kepyng of iustice / al be it he was sekely/

Holw men ought eschewe ydlenes and vse exercise of laboure teschewe sekenesse in age

Holw aged men shuld dyete them for theyr helthe.

Holw that the soule ne mynde be not passyoned

An exaple holw aged men shold rede & here plesaũt histories

Holw studye and redyng enioyeth the spyrytes of men

Holw aged men as Cecilius sayth ben redy to bylieue

Nota of thre condicions in old age lyght to byleue/ffor; yeteful/and straunge to please/

Holw Apius olde & blynde gouerned in his sones and doughters

Holw Caton exhorted to haue old age in recõmendacion

Holw Caton was lerned in the lalbe/a pledar & a purpo; ser in the courtys. & holw he made bookes of prophesies & predestinacõns & thyngis to come & a booli of spirituel causes

Holw Caton recorded at eue alle that he had herdy or ler; ned the day byfore/

Item Holw he was lyberall to do for his frendys by counseyl/Auctorite/and by Wysedom

¶ Here endeth the thirde traytye. & begynneth the fourth

Holw olde age is commendable / by cause it taketh away the luste of lecherye

Holw Archites wrote that nature gaf neuir gretter pes; telence than flesshely lustys vnto may.

Holw flesshely delectacyon is the gretteste torment that nature nozysseth.

How Archites argueth agaynst flesshely delectacyon/
How flesshely delectacyon taketh away from man. his vnderstandyng. his reason. and mynde/
How Archites disputed with Gayus Poncius. of Inconuenyentys of delectacyon.
Of an history of Lucius Carnulus and apius Claudius/
How/ in caas. that reason/ ne wysedom voyde not delectacyon/ thenne olde age is thanne gretely to be recommended
How gretely that delectacyon is dampned.
How Gayus Flammineus was putt out of the Senate by cause of his lecherye.
How he deserued to dye by cause at the excitacion of his ryghtfulde he sleweth a prysonner. and lost his offyce.
Of thoppynyon of Epicurus that held that delectacyon of the flesshe was moost to be recommended.
How the Romaynes wolde haue that oppynyon shewed to kyng Pirrus theyr enemye. by whiche he myght be the febler/ and rather ouercome/
How Fabricius and Cornucamus his felawe gaf lawde and preysyng to theym that eschewed sensualyte.
How olde age loueth clene dyete for his helthe/
How Plato repreuith delectacyon of flesshely lustys.
How Gaius duellius delyted in harpyng and pypynge
How Caton toke his disportes with his felawys.
How Caton allowed more the communycacion of his felawship. than the luste that he had to ete and drynke.
How some delectacyon is grounded inhoneste.
How Caton counseylleth an aged man to haue somme

maner delectacyon as in offyces of gouernaunce and dygnytees/

Holb Exenophon of Grece auyseth a man to be mery and ioyeful / &c

Holb Sophycles the philosophre eschewed the delyte of lecherye.

Holb yongy delectacyon enioyeth an agedy man in his herte/al be it he may not exercise it.

Holb Gallus of grete auctorite and dignyte in his olde age had grete delyte to studye and laboure in astronomye and geometrye/Andy also in Gramer/Retheryk/ andy Logyke.

Nenius thaged man delyted to make a book of bataylles

Holb Plantus delyted hym in makyng of a book of the cruelte of a seruant ayenst his mayster. andy of a bondeman ayenst his lord.

Holb Lenius an olde Scoelmaistre in Rome delyted in age to teche Rymes and balades,

Holb Tonus Tudicanus & Publius Lucanus wrote dyuyne lawe.

Lucynius wrote lawe Cyuyle /

Holb Marcus Chetegus by his swete termes in pursuyng caused the hierers to yeue credence andy audyence to his maters /

Holb Solon in his olde age lerned newe thynges.

Holb agedy men sholdy gyue theyr delectacyon in labouryng andy tylyengy the londes sowyng graynes/plantyng and greffyng trees.

Holb Caton hady grete ioye to see and vnderstande holb

nature wrought by her course of kynde.
How olde age delyteth in plantyng of vygnes and nature of fruytes.
How Caton certefyeth the grete delectacyon that he had in labourage of tolbyng and vygnes settyng
How the vertue of thethe werketh in seedis herbes trees and wees.
How Caton treateth of the grolbyng and knyttyng of vygnes/ & of the grete delectacyon in the labourage of it
How Omer wryteth that Lacrtes kynge of ytalye in grece had grete playsyr that one of his sones yaf hym to labouryng and tylyeng of londes.
How Caton reherseth to Scipion and Lelius /in how many maner wyses delectacyon maye be youen to labou: ryng and tylyeng of londes and fruytes/
How grete delectacyons and playsyr is had in gardynes and curtilages greffyd with trees/norysshyng of beestys. hyues of bees and hony, &c
How in greffyng of trees he commendeth nature wer: kyng meueyllously.
How Marcus curius hady delectacyon in labouryng and tylyeng of londes/
How Pyrrus the kyng was discomfyted by Marcus curius that beam a plowman.
How Marcus curius refused a grete presente of gold. and sayd he desyred more the lordship ouer ryche men. than suche rychesse of goldy/
How Lucius Quintus beyng a labourer in the feeldys was chosen by the Senate to gouerne Rome/

and was made dictator the grettest offycer
How Caton concludeth that there is no better lyf than
an erthe tylyer & labourer in londes, ne nomore holsome.
How the houses of offyces in an auncyent lordes hous be
wel stuffed and stored with alle that is necessarye
How olde age hath grete delectacyon in the syght and be-
holdyng of grene medowes
How the naturel hete of the sonne, and also of the fyre
comforted an olde man
How yong men be redy to bataylle, to ryde, to goo, and to
fyghte, where as the aged man may not
How the vse of the playe at chesse and tables is gyuen
to old men
How Caton counseylleth not old men ne yong, to pleye
at chesse ne at tables. where they may be better occuppyed
How Xenophon made a book of labourage and tily-
eng of londes
How the crafte of a labourer is lyke the lyf of a phi-
losopher,
How Socrates wryteth that Cyrus kyng of Perse de-
lyted hym in plantyng of trees, in fruytes, & gardynes
of dyuerse flours and herbes
How Lutius Metellus offended Postumus not to go
to batayll, tyl he had don sacrefyce vnto god of bataylles,
How the Romaynes dyde doo wryte Epytaphyes on the
tombes of noble men, in whiche were wreton theyr noble
actes and dedes of worship /
How in seuen poyntes an aged man ought be reuerenced
How men shold lerne of them to gyue counseyl, as in

gouyneh audyence. obeyench/ and to folowe aftir theym.
How that aged men were moost put in reuerence in Lacedemone.
How Cytezeyns of Lacedemone dyde in Athenes reuerence to olde men/
How bisshoppis and prestys be sette forth aftir theyr ages in honoure.
How agedy men ben slouthful / angry. noyous / mysdemyng/ and couetous
How olde men mysdemen to be dispraysed and lacked of yong men.
Of two bretheren twynlyngys born in one houre/ and dyuerse in condicions/
How he dispreysed couetyse in age/
¶ Here endeth the fourth traytye/ & begynneth the fyfthe
How Caton affermeth that an agedy man sholdy not haue thought to dye.
How yong age is rather disposed to sekenesse by ryotte than olde age.
The wyse conduyte of old men.
A wyse prouerbe of Caton to put no doubtous thyng to be certayn /
How necessyte is conuertible and appropredy to deth by the ryghte sentence of godys /
How Architonius kyng of Thrase regnedy four score yere, and lyued an hundred and twenty yere/
How no man can wyte in what estate a man standeth aftir his deth/
An example how an olde man sholde no more repente his

age. than the labourer woth hereſt, Whiche is the laſte ſeaſon of gwlbyng.

The four ſeaſons / Veer / Somer. Herueſt, and Wynter.

What differrnce is by reſemblaunce of a yongh man to dye, and a man of olde age.

Deth is reſembledy to gaderyngh of grene Apples / and rype apples,

Holb old aged men deceſſen Withoute grete peyne.

Holb Catun Was ioyful of deth, a noble ſymplytude /

Of a noble anſWere of Solon to Philiſtrates the tyraunt.

As dame Nature Werkath in kynde, ſo woth age Whan it cometh /

An example of a maker of a ſhip,

Holb Pitagras commandeth that a man ſhold not ſhorte his lyf. by his oWne folye.

Holb moche peple ſorolbed for the deth of Solon / by cauſe of the tendre loue that he had to his frendes.

Holb Ennius the poete charged that no man ſholde lamente ne Wepe for his departyngh /

Holb olde men dreden to dye. And of the drede of deth /

Holb Tarquyne the prolbde kyng of rome Was banyſſhid, by cauſe of the mayntenyngh of his ſone ayenſt Lucrelle,

Holb Lucius brutus for to recouere the fraunchyſe and lybertes of Rome abandouned hym to dye in the myddle of thooſt bpon Arrius,

Holb Publius decius ſpared not to dye emongh thooſt

of his aduersaryes for the comyn weel of Rome.
How Scipion Affricanus slewe hym self rather than he wold falle in the daunger of his enemy Julius Cesar.
How Scipion Alianus was for enuye accused and dede in pryson.
How Lucius Paulus auaunced hym in batayll wyl lyng rather dye/than to lyue rebuked/
How Marcus Marcellus dred not to dye in batayll ayenst the enemyes of rome for the welfare of the same/
How Hanibal dyd to burye his aduersarye Marcus Marcellus worshipfully by cause he was so noble a man in armys.
Of dyuerse condycions after dyuerse ages growen.
The dyffynycyon of yong age/
Of the nature of deth. and of the eternyte of the sowle.
How that paynems and hethen peple byleuyd in one god and after blessyd lyuyng they sholde come to ioye & reste
How Caton preueth the soule to be not dedly, but to endure perpetuelly. And that by grete reasons/and doctryne of philosophers/
Socrates was mayster to Plato.
Notable ensamples to Induce/the soule to be perpetuel &

mooſt lyght and parfyght/
Platon treateth vpon the diffynycion of the ſoule,
How the ſoules be perpetuel and continuyng/
How kynge Cirus preuyth by euydent reaſons that his ſoule ſhold lyue perpetuelly, as Exenophon the philoſopher makith mencion.
The ſeuen dyuerſe names that the ſoule is called, after the occupacon that it is beſyed,
How noble an exhortacion kynge Cirus maketh to his chylderen.
How Caton was a gouernour in Rome/
How fonnedy and folyſſhe ben tho olde agedy men that deſyre or beeſſhe to be yong agayn
How and of what auaylle it is to be lyuyng in this preſent world,
Note wel the Jnuentyf reaſons of Caton, that a man ſhold not drede to departe out of this world,
How the ſone of Caton was excellent in pyte, and in parfyght lyuyng.
How thoppynyon of the Epicures is dampnable.
Of thoppynyon of Caton that the ſoule neuir deyeth: & trouth it is/

Thus endeth thé remembraunce of thiſtoryes compyled and tolbchid in this lytil book entitled Tullyus de Senectute/

Y ſouerayn frende Attitus, holde be it
that J knolde certaynly that thou
m art bothe nyght and day penſif and
careful/ffor the gouernement of the
comyn profyte of the Romayns, cal-
lyd in latyn Res publica/like as is
Tytus flaminius the noble conſul of Rome Neuer-
theles J may purpoſe & ſpeke to the by the ſentences of
iij verſis by the whiche that worſhypful philoſopher En-
neus the poete ſpake to his frende Attitus in this ma-
ner. Certaynly ſeyd Enneus J ſhal deſerue in this ma-
ter a goody reward. grete fees and wages, yf J by my
wytt and reſons reduce in the ſayd verſis to helpe the
conduyt/and the ordenaunces to ſupporte & in eny wyſe
the charge and beſynes that thou haſt take. ffor the ſtu-
dy of the publyk profyte callyd the comyn wele. to be ſo-
ueraynly and pollytikly rulid. the whiche brennyth and
turmentith ſtidfaſtly in thyne hert. in ſomoche that by
the ſame beſynes exercised/thou haſt thy wyttis and thyn
vnderſtondyng alway occuppyd toward ſuche wordly
thynges to the profytable ordenaunce. and wel dyſpoſed
for the vniuerſal welfare of the cyte of Rome vpon the
erthely and worldly thynges/ Thoruh which ſtudye
and feruent labour thou art gretly oppreſſed and trua-
lyd in thy ſpyritys where thorugh thou art moche thankie
worthy, The ſayd verſis of the grete poete Enneus
be not onely of ſo grete effect purpoſed ſo ſentencyouſly
in ſo felle wordis ful obſcure to declare. but they be of
right grete ſubſtalice true & ful of good feith & credence,

ffor sooth my verey frende Attitus I knolle and vn
derstonde the temprance and the naturall lalle of Jus-
tice in thy courage excercised/and also I knolle and
vnderstande that by the magnifyeng of thy science and
vnderstondyng I knolle not one onely in the scole &
study of athenes of so grete lalde and renomme to be
of/as that thou hast of worship in that vniuersite, but
many men knolle there & vnderstonde the grete benyg-
nite the attemperaunce and also the prudence of the in
that behalf, & holde be yt that thou hast thyes excellent
vertues sourmountyng othyrs yit I trolle and deme
that thou art Somtyme meuyd and troublyd in thy
spiritys for the said causes mnistryng / Wherof I am
of the same disposicion my self / Wherupon thou must
nedis haue grette comfort thaune I may yeue the at
this tyme, therfor I shal abyde to recomforte the tyll an
other tyme. But nolle me semyth it is good that I
write vnto the som thyng of the worship and recomen-
dacion of auncient age for I wyll that thou & I bee re-
comforted/and releued of that sore burthen Whiche is
comyn both to the & me, that is to wite of Age Whiche
nolle constreyneth vs and that full certaynly comyth &
noyeth vs I wille by this boke comforte the and me not
withstondyng that I wote certaynly that nolle thou
suffirst & enduryst attemperately & wysely all thyngys
Which comyn vnto the Neuertheles Whanne my wille
was to write any thing of the age of auncientnes I re-
membrid of the as of hym Which was worthy for to haue
this present booke of Whiche eche of vs shal nolde

comounly vse for oure solace And verily aftir that I had consyderyd to write this booke which is of morall philosophye this labour & makyng was to me so ioyfull/ that not onely it tokc away fro me all chargis thoughtis & greuaunce of age but it is come toward me soft & glad: some Therfor themme my frende Attitus ther is no man by whom philosophie may be prayscd I nowgh for, she is suche that ther is no man yf he obeye to hir in solo wyng parfytely hir commaundementys, but he may lyue by all the tyme of hys age/wythoute sowlle & without any greuaūce/& as to the other thyngys pertaynyng to phylosophye / we haue seyd ynowgh & yit shall we seyoftyn in other bookis And therfor we haue sent vnto the this present booke in the whych we spekc of age. But to thentente that our book may haue grettir auctorytc/we attribue & dyrecte all our wordys & speke to the olde Caton & not as dyd Aristotiles which in his book of age dyrectid his worde & spechc to the kyng Titonus brothir of Laomedon of. which Titonus the poetys haue feyned that by the grete age of hym he was chaūgid in to a Crikket for oure present boke shuld be of lytel auctorite if we shulde attribue it to a man of whom men tellyn a fable or a feyned tale we make oure booke so cōpendyously that thies two noble yong men womayns of noble courage Telius & Sipion makyn emongys them merrilyng & questionyng how that duke Caton beryth & endurith so lightly & so easely his auncient age. And after that we make what the olde Caton answerith to Telius & Sapion by reasons and by eysamplis how age must be

worshipped & recōmended for many grete & necessary cau
ses And yf it semyth the that in this present boke Ca/
ton disputith & spekyth more wysely thanne he vsyd in
his othir bookys/hit must be attribued & remitted vn to
the grekysshe bookis & langage in which the seid Caton
studyed & lernyd playnely in the tyme of his olde age/
hit nedith not for to say more to the preysyng of this bo
ke for the langage of Caton shall declare soone all our
sentence touchyng the honour & wisedome of olde age/

Here endith the prologue of the booke and begynneth of
the dysputacion made by Tullie begynnyng in the latyn
Sepe numero admirari soleo And first how scipion
with lelyns merueilyth & asketh of Caton/

Noble philosopher & vaillaunt duke Caton J Si
o pion haue ofty tymes merueil & so hath this Ga
yus lelyus my felowe aswele for thyne hygh wysedome
& profyte in science that thou hast in the as in othir thin
gys/and also J am woont to mareyel me that J perey
uid neuer that olde age was to the neythir noyous ne he/
uy which is so hatefull to som olde men that they sayen
that they beren a more greuous and more heuyer burden
thanne is that mountayn of Sicille called Ethna Ca
ton aswerith certaynly good yong men of noble courage
hit semith to som men that ye tweyne haue mareil of a
thyng lyght & easy to knowe that is to witt why age se
myd me neuer neythyr heuy greuous ne noyous/ffor eche
of thies vj ages which men name Childhode adolescence

ougth virilite manhode & olde age semyn to be heuy & noy ous to men the which in them silf haue nothyng that may help & socoure them to lyue goodly & blessidly as be tho which exercisen sciences & vertues & good werkis but as to suche men which sechyn & fyndyn in themsilf alle the goods & thyngis which belongyn wele & blessidly for to lyue / ther is nothyng that comyth to them in age by the defaute of nature that may seme vnto them euyll ne noyous It is certayne that olde age is suche that it sercchith & fyndyth in it self alle the goodnesses which longen to liue wel & blyssidly, and yit is olde age such that alle men desyre to come vntyll hit. And neuer theless the mutablenes & euyl dyspoficion of men hit is so grete in oure dayes that they blamyn olde age when they be come therto by cause that thene they may not vse delectacions

All the folis seyn that olde age comyth in them sonner thenne they wend/but I demaunde a question of such men what maner foly constreyned them forto trowe or suppose the thyng the which is fals/for they can sey no reason holde olde age entrith sonner in the man aftir adolescence nomore than doth adolescence aftir pueritie callid childhode which is the seconde age/ holde be it that it is ordeyned by nature that that one of the ages entrith aftir the ende of the othir More ouir I demaunde such foolys holde olde age shuld be lesse chargyng & lesse greuous to men if they myght lyue viij C yere/for holde be it that the age past had be longer yit it may neithir comforte ne allege ne satisfye the foole olde man Therfor yf ye two be merueiled of my wysedome in myne age which I wold it were such as ye repute & vnderstonde it and wold be

worthy to be knowyn & here forth my surname Caton/ I answere to yow that yf I am wise my wysedome is one/ li in this thyng for I folow the lawe & ordenallces of dame Nature the ryght good leder of kynde & also I obeye vn/ to hir for all hir comaundementys befulle lyke to the co/ maundementys of the dyuyne goddys by cause that bothe two drawyn to the true welth of blyssyd disposicion It is not lyke semyng sith Nature hath wele disposed & or/ deyned the othir fyue first ages eche after his office that she had neglygently lefte to ordeyne the office of olde a/ ge/ Which is the laste tyme & endyng of men And as it comyth of a foole & of a neglygent clerk which can not ne may nor will fulfill the booke that he beganne but al wey what euir be said of olde age alleway that she hath hir offyce ordeyned by nature I say that it must nedys of necessite that it haue som endyng swete & soft for to en/ dure to the wyse man ffor lyke as nature hath ordeyned in the fruytys of trees & of erth which haue the fruyte soft or harde that they abydyn on the tree & fallen after they ben rype ynough/ so hath Nature ordeyned of the cause of ages some as folys wyll argue & rebell them ayenst the ordenannces of nature/ but that debate & rebellion is pro/ prely compared and lykend to the fiction of the poetys which by their tales feyned that in the tyme of Jupiter kyng of the londe of Crete the geauntys as folys wol/ de make werre ayenst the goddys by the which ye owe to vndirstonde that the folysshe men wolde rebelle ayenst the ordenaunces of nature chamberer & seruant of god Lelyus demalidith a question forsoth Caton I promy se the for my felowe Scipion that thou shalt do vnto

vs right a gracio9 frendſhip if by the/we lerne long ty=
me afore or we become olde men/by what reaſons we myght
ſuffre & endure ryght lyghtly the chargyng & the greuo9
age of olde men/for we hope certaynly that we ſhall beco=
me olde/Caton anſwerith/forſoth Lelius I ſhal do that
thou requyreſt me ſo that eche of you haue agreable my
wordys that I ſſhal ſay to you/of tho Lelius & Sapion
demaundedy this queſtion to Caton, ſo that it be not gre
uous to the we wulle deſyre certaynly/what is the longe
wey by the which thou art comyn in/from thy childhode
vntill this age/for thou maiſt teche vs/as he which had
don a long viage/in the whiche we muſt entre, Caton an
ſwered I ſhal make you Lelius an anſwer ſo as ye aſke
after that I may/forſoth I haue oftymes be in the quarell
of ſciuile cauſes diſputyng/& in the parlamentis of my
felowes egall to me in the diſputyng & pledyng cauſes of
their matiers & proceſſis ffor after the auncient prouerbe all
thyngys which be like of reſemblaūce eyſamples. lightly
wold be vndirſtonde aſſemblyd & gaderd to gedyr/So I
ſhal telle you what grete thyngys Salmator And9
Spurius Albinus whilom conſuls in Rome which
were almoſt lyke to me in age, were wont to ſowlbe and
wepe by cauſe that in the tyme of their olde age they had
no fleſſhely delectacions/without whiche they ſeid their
lyfe was nought/And ſaid alſo that they were dyſpry=
ſed/and holde in reproof & reproche of peyne & diſplea ſyre
bi whom they ſhulde be haunted magnified & worſhipped
Thies men Salmator And9 Albinus after my de=
myng dide not accuſe & blame that thyng whiche they
huld haue accuſed/ffor yf ỹ thyng therof they wepte &
ſowlbid ſhuld come by the blame & defaute of olde age by
lyk reaſon to me & all othir ỹ which be gretter & older than

J/ shuld come the .ij. causes a forsaid for which they sow/
wyn, but it is not so/ ffor J knowe many of them which
be of such age & of gretter age than J am/ which here & en
duryn their olde age without makyng such complaynte
for they endury & suffre gladly & be glad to be oute of
the prisons & londys of flesshely delectacons & they cõpla
yne not that they be dispraysed of such men, but the blame &
the vice of all such compleinyng bi which olde age semith
greuo9 & noyo9 is in the condicions & in the maners of
the men & not in the age/ ffor certaynly the old temperate
men which be not dangero9 ne cruell/ endury & here lygh
tly their olde age/ but importunyte cruelte & vnmanerly
gouernalice is chargyng & greuo9 to olde age/ & to all o
thir age/ Lelyus answerith & after demaudeth certaynly
Caton it is so as thou saist/ but parauentur som myght
say that thou herist and enduryst better thyn olde age by
cause of thy richesse & for the habondaunce of the tempe
rall goodys that thou hast by cause of thy dygnyte/ and
true it is that this thyng which thou hast comyth but to
fewe men/ Caton answerith forsoth Lelyus thou rea
sonest & saist wel that the richessis & the dignyte that J
haue makey me to suffre & endure more easely myne olde
age/ bnt in this thyng be not alle the meanes pacientl
to suffre & endure olde age The thyngys which makyn
olde age swete & pacient be as tho thingys whiche make
a man to be noble or to be a Chorle therof J shalle telle
the by exsampl/ There was a noble man of athenes clepid
Themystecles which pletyd with a Chorle of the Isle of
seryphus in the which were comonly froward men & euyl
condicõned This seryfios that was a chorle said to The
mystecles that he was not noble ne gentyl of hym self/
but onely by cause of the magnifycng & worship of his

noble contre of athenes/to the which Themystecles an-
swerd/By god said he & I were a man of Seriphus as
thou art/yit shuld I not be a Chorle/& yf thou haddist
be of athenes as I am/yit sholdist thou neuir be noble in
worship nor gentilnes/ In semblable wyse may be said
this comparison of olde age/ for it may not be soft nor
light to suffre and endure in grete pouerte/how be it that
the olde men were wyse & full of letters/& also is olde a-
ge greuous & anuguous to the sole olde man/how be it
that he haue ryght grete habondaūce of goodys by his
byrth/Certaynly my frendys Scipion & lelyus the right
couenable armes of olde age be the craftys & occupacōs
to vse ryght wysely/& the exercitacōis of the iiij prima-
pall vertues/that is to witt/temperance/prudence/force/& &
Justice if thies vertues be wel sett to werkie in all thyne
age/after that thou hast lyued longe ynough/they shal
bryng to the merueillous frutys of delectacion by the swete
remembraūce of the good deedys past/the frutys of thies
vertues be not onely merueillous by cause that they wyll
neuir leue their mayster namely in the last tyme of olde
age which is right a grete & a syngulere thyng/but al
so the frutys of vertues be merueillous for the conscience
of the man which had wele lyued/& as by the recorde of
remembraūce of many good deedys doon is right a glad
some thyng to the olde age, wherfor it may appere vn-
to you that olde age is not without delectacion of vertu-
ous deedys doyng Nowe come I forto shewe that the olde
men be not dispreysed nor relinquysshed or forsakyn of o-
thir men that tyme whan I was as an adolescent yonge
of age/as moch louyd I that olde man Quyntus ffabi-
us which tokie & recouerd the cyte of tarente whiche is in
the londe of puyle And loued hym whiche was lyke me

in age & in condicions / ffabyus than an olde man had in himself a good disposicion of a moderaunce medlyd with curtesye & with honeste and clennesse & his olde age had not changed his vsis & good custumes in eny wyse/ But that they were as good or better as they were in his first tyme, I beganne to haunte & loue the seid ffabyus holde be it he was not meruelously of grete age/ but neuertheles he was than aged. ffor the seid ffabius first was consul of Rome in the yere that I was borne/ & in the yere of his fourth consulat, I whiche was thene a yong adolescent & knyght went with the seid ffabius to Capyne a cyte in champaigne/ and the fyfth yere after I was Questour and went to Tarent & after I was made edyle of Rome and the fourth yere after I was prestur which is the souerayne dygnyte in Rome. I had this dygnyte at that tyme whan Tudicanus and Cetegus were consuls of rome/ & ffabius whiche was thene full olde did so moch by his amonestyng & purposyng of faire wordys that the lalle of Cyntius was receyued at Rome by the which he made ordenaunce in yifftis of offyces/ that is to witt, that tho yifftis shuld not be outerageous expensyfe ne euyl employed & that the offices shuld be cõmytted by election to sufficient men in cõyng & conuenient persons acceptable/ How be it that ffabyus was playnly olde yit made he batailles so victoriously & so egerly as he had be in the age of adolescence in the tyme that hanybalk a yong man & duke of cartage made werre ayenst rome & the contrey a boute, ffabyus thenne olde suffred hanybal to sporte hym & take his recreacion in the champaigne of rome & by the suffraunce ỹ ffabius had ayenst hanibalk he lessed & enfebled hym & his hooste in somoch ỹ he & his men were so sotted and delyted in flesshly delectacions

that they forgate & loste alle the exercisyng of armes & the dysciplyne of knyghthede Of thys Fabyus telleth ryght nobly our good & preuy ffrende the poete/ Enneus Fabyus said he is a romayne Which restoryd vs our cõ trey ourre fraunchises & ourre libertees by the respyte & lon ge suffraunce that he had ayenst ourre grete enemy hany: ball Fabius thenne olde Was so temperate & so prudent that of the renomme fame & Worship of all othir tryne glorpes he chargid not nethir sett by it/but aboue all o; thir thyngys he put before the helth & the Welfare of the comoñ profyte of his cõtrey, & for this cause the renom: me glory Worship & the fame of ffabyus resplendyssshed & floured aftir his deth, more than at that tyme Whanne he lyued But it shulde be a grete thyng for to tell and seye by What dylygence & by What conseille he toke & re; couyrd the cyte of, Tarente Which thenne Was a cas; tell and at that tyme Was takyn by the affricans/

It fortuned that a consul romayne callid Salmator loste as it is said the castelle of Tarente and fled by the Withdraught ín to the toure of the same castell Thenne aftir that Fabyus recouird the same castell the seid Salmator me kneryng holl he glorifyed & magnified hymself of that recouryng by thyse Wordys Certeynly seid Salmator to the seid Fabius/thou hast recouerd bi me & by my Werke the castell of, Tarente forsoth ansue rid Fabyus yf thou haddyst not loste it a fore I shuld neuer haue recouird it neithirr takyn it ageyne, This Fa bius full olde Was so good ín armes & ín house that is to saye that he Was so goody ín tyme of Werr and of peas that he Was not better ín that one than ín that othir

And eftsones Fabyus was conſul and had a felowe of office callid carmlyus the which exercyſed not his offyce but that notwithſtondyng the ſeid Fabyus thenne an olde man reſiſted as moch as he nyght to the entrepryſe of Gayus Flammynyus which at that tyme was tribune of the peple of Rome which ayenſt the auctorite of the ſenatours of Rome wolde deuyde by ſyngler partys ayn herytage callyd the terrone Picentois and the terrone Galois And how be it that Fabius of the connyng & office callyd Angure which is a dyuinore which was a dygnyte in Rome that men yafe them to that ſcience which determyned & kneſſe the thyngys to come by the chirmyng & by the ſong & by the countenaūce of the foulys & bryddys of the eyre/ Neuertheles he had in hym the boldenes for to ſay that all thyngys which were made for the ſauacyon & for the welfare of the comyn profyte callid Res publica were made by ryght good dyuynyng But the thyngys made or ſaide ayenſt the comun profyte were made or ſaide ayenſt the ſentēcys of wyſe men of Auſpices that is to ſay ayenſt the dyuynynges Jugementys & demynges the which were made by the ſentences of fowles and bryddys J haue knowyn that in this man were many thynges of ryght noble condicyōs the which J telle not/ but J knowe nothyng more merueillous for to ſay thanne is to telle how Fabyus ſuſteyned & endured without mournyng & wepyng the deth of his ſone Marius which was a noble man & wylome conſul of rome We haue clerely & in a parte declarid the prayſyng of the olde Fabius of which whan we rede his prayſyng we fynde but fewe philoſophers lyke hym but me oweghte

to dispraysse them to the regarde of Fabius and it is cer-
tayne that he was not onely to be recomended in grete de-
dys of prysse that he did outward & in the presence of the
Cytezeyns of Rome But he was better & gretter within
forth/ that is to witt in good condicions & within his
sowle/ I may not sey ynough what was the speche & wor-
dys nor what were the commandementes of the olde Fa-
bius nor what was the knowleche that he had of the de-
dys & of the sayengys of the olde tyme I may not also
saye ynowgh howe moche he knewe of the arte & scyences
of dyuynyng & determinacion of fortunes to come good
or ylle in tyme of peas & of werre by the flyght or by the
chirming or by the countenaunce of the foulys & briddis
of the eyre/ And yit had also ffabius science & witte y-
nough after the maner which the romayns had & vsed
at that tyme/ This ffabius conceiued & receyued in his
mynde not onely the romayns bataylles but also remem-
bred of straunge bataylles/ I spake as desyringly with
hym as I coude deuyse at that tyme/ the same thyng
whiche fortuned of hym after he died that is witt that af-
ter his deth I shuld haue no man Romayne of whom I
myght lerne in workis & in techyngys suche as he hadde be
It nedith not to seye so many thyngys to the preysyng
& fame of the said ffabius/ ffor certeynly ye see wele by
that that I haue said that it is vntrouth & a vice to say
that olde age is wretchyd myschaunt or noyous so that it
had be such as was the same of olde ffabius & how be it
that ffabius had be such in alle his age neuertheles it is
certain that alle men may not be such as were the scipions

and the ffabyens nethir alle men also may not be suche that they myght so of them self recorde & rehersse, the cy-
tees the which they haue fought with & werrid or con-
quered in the batayllles that they haue made a forr in dy-
uers landis & trames & also by nauy of shippes on the
see, nor all men also may not be such that they myght of
them self/recorde nor saye the victorious deedis & tryum-
phes which they haue had in their lyues lykie as dyd the
worthy **Scipions** and also the noble **Fabiens** whi-
lom noble romayns & vertuous in them self ffor namely
some olde men myght in tymes past haue be of pasible
clene and faire lyf in gouernaūce, and yet is their ol-
de age plesalit & swete suche as as we here by the hystory-
es that declaren of the olde age of platon which at fou-
rescore yere & one wrote bookes to teche men connyng & ver
tue & so woyng he dyed Some olde age may be plesaunt
& swete how be it that the lyf precedent had be still pure
& soft without warre or so noyed as we hier by histories
how was the olde age of socrates the philosophre the which
as men sayne wrote in the yere of his age fourscore
and fourtene a bokie callid **Penathetius** in which
he taught men for to dispreyse & not to set by deth **So-
crates** lyued .v. yere after þ he had made an ende of the
saide booke he was disciple of a philosopher callyd **Gorgi-
as** which was born in a castel callyd **Leoucin** This
Gorgias maister to **Socrates** was an hundert & seuen
yere fulfyllyd of age & he neuer cesid in his studye but
euermore he was besyed and occupyed/ Thenne it fortu-
ned that men demaundid hym why he wolde be so longe

alyue he anſwerde I haue not ſaid ne ſeen in me ony cauſe why I ſhulde accuſe nor blame myne olde age/ Certaynly this anſwere was right nobly ſpoken & was worſhipfully ſeyd & appertynent to a wiſe man/ The fooliſh wolde ſey in contrary of thanſwere of that philoſopher **Gorgias** ffor the foolys puttyn vpon the olde age their owne vices & blame whiche come of them ſilf, that is to witt/ the foolys accuſyn their olde age and puttyn vpon it the vices & defautys whiche come of their euyll condicions in yougth & not of the age which thyng did not the poete **Enneus** of whom we haue nolle late made mencyon/ for in ſhewyng what he was in olde age he made therof a compariſon/ I am ſeyde **Enneus** as the ſtrong hors whiche many atyme hath diſcomfited/ the other horſys in rennyng lightly/ & is come firſt to the pycke/ And by cauſe that nolle this hors is olde he reſtyd hym & labourith nomore/ This **Enneus** comparith & reſemblyth his olde age to the olde age of a ſtrong & a victorious horſe, Of this **Enneus** may we well haue in mynde for the yiy yere after the deth of hym **Titus ffflamminius** and **Marcus Attilius** were made Conſuls of **Rome** & **Ennius** dyed at that time whanne **Sipion** & **Philip** was made the ſecõde tyme Conſuls And I which than was ſixti & fyue yere of age purpoſyd & pletyd with a grete & high voice a fore the ſenatours of rome for the lalle which made hoome one of the wiſe men of Rome/ & that lalle I preuyd & ſuſteyned by ſuaſyons & good reaſons layllable whan ennyus was ſixty & ten yere of age, for he lyued ſo longe by age/

The seyd poete Enneus beyng olde as J haue sayd suffred and endured so pacyently and so wele two grete burdons / whiche men reputen and accepte right grete / that is to witt youthe and olde Age / that it semyth that Enneus hadde therin grete delectacyon.

Here endith the first part of this book / whiche is the disputacyon of duke Caton And begynnyth the nombryng of the causes. Why olde Age semyth to be wrecchid myschaunt. And in this same distincyon Caton confoundith repreuyth & abassith Scipion and Lelius of the first defaulte which they opposyn Caton ayenst olde Age / And begynnyth in the latyn Etenim cum complector animo. quatuor causas reperio &c Scipion spekyth for hym and for lelyus.

Thanne J Scipion considre certaynly in my
W courage. for how many and what causes the olde age semyth to be wrecchid myschamit and noyous. J fynde of them onely foure causes. The first cause and reson is. by cause that men taken away from olde men thadmynystracions and gouernaunce of thynges. whyche requyren werke and labour of bodyly strength or aduys and lack of witt and of vnderston/dyng. The seconde is by cause that olde Age makyth men feble. seekly and forgetefulle. The thirde cause is for as moche that olde age takyth away fro men alle delectacyons and pleasurs naturelle as sensualitees in gayng of chyldery. The iiij reason is by cause that

the olde may aftir cours of nature is not ferr from deth

Caton answerith nolde see we yf it please you holde gre: te and holde Juste/ & of what valew ben eche of thies foure causes which men opposyn ayenst olde age/ & first telle me holde ye vndirstonde that olde age withdrawith & takith away fro men the gouernaunce and the admynistraci: on of thyngys concernyng bodily occupacons of strength and besynes/and yf it be so/telle me of what thyngys/ & ye parauenture shulle answere me that men take away and withdrawen fro men by cause of olde age the admy: nistracion and gouernaunce of the thynges that men ta: kyn in yougth by bodily strength. And that tyme whane the body is in strength & vertu/but thenk ye not Scipi: on and Telyus that olde men haue not some thyngys & workys whiche they may & canne admynystre & doo in their age/And also thynk ye not but some thyngs ben whiche men may make and admynistre by the Counseil of olde men holde be it that namely they haue their bodyes seke & maladif Sayst thou thene Scipion that this olde man ffabyus dide nothyng profitable to the gouer nement and to the admynistracyon of the comon profite of Rome, Saist thou also that nothyng dide thy ffader Lucyus Paulus for the welfare of Rome of whom my sone yong Caton had wedded the doughter

Saist thou also that thies othir olde men callid ffabrycius and the curious and the Cornycanoys dide nothyng whenne they defendid and sauid with their counseile and by their auctorite the comon profite

of our cyte of Rome/ Ther was at Rome one Appi;
us an old agid preest which seruid in the temple of Mi
nerua othir wise callid Pallas which preest was fulle
olde and with that he was blynde/And it fortuned that
at that tyme Pirrus the kyng of Epiriotes made werre
ayenst Rome/& insomoche that the senatours were inclyn
ned and concordid for to make peas and aliance with
the seid kyng Pirrus and notwithstondyng that Appi;
us was an olde man and blynde/yit he doubtid not for
to say the senatours the wordys which the seid Enne;
us had sett in versys/whereof of the sentence is thus/why
seid Appius haue ye inclyned and reualed youre coura;
gious hertys/which til nowe were accustumyd to be fer;
me and stidfast/be ye maddy or for lak of discressyon a;
gree ye for to condescend and desyre ye to make alliance
and peas with kyng Pirrus by cause that he puttth
in strength for to putt you downe and in subiection and
wolde destroye yowe/and othir thyngys he seid right felly
and righe greuously he rebukid them/and the seid Appi
us fulle olde said yet to the senatours/and yit ye knowe
saidy he that Enneus made the versys that I haue here
allegid & seid by the which he reproueth you/and also ye
Sapion and Lelyus mowe haue seen the reason by
the which Appius olde and blynde purposid this matier
before the senatours / seuentene yere aftir that he hadd be
the seconde tyme consul , and yet ther was y yere betwix
hir first and seconde consulat, wherfor men may vndir;
stonde that in the tyme of batayle of kyng Pirrus the

ſeid Appius was of a grete age/that is to witt ſeuenty and vij yeris/ The olde Appius did/by his reſonyng and talkyng that the Romayns vndirtoke thenne their entrepryſe and ordeyned a grete hooſt ayenſt kyng pirrus whiche by them was diſcomfited/whiche was thyng full merueilous/ And algatis we haue herd it ſaid by our auncient ffaders They thenne preue not ne affer/me any thyng ayenſt the counſeil of olde age/that ſaye that they may nor can entirmete and medle of nothyng And tho that ſo ſaye/ben lyke to them whiche ſuppoſyn and wene that in a ſhip ſaylyng by the ſee/the lodeſman/whiche is callid the patron or mayſter of the ſhip/whiche keppyth the withir or ſterne of the ſhyp to guyde yt wele doth nothyng but attendith onely to that/by cauſe that ſome yongh men clymmyn vpon the maſtis and ſome men draweh vp the ankyres and ſome yong men truſſyn vp the ſayles/ and ſomeothir yonge pompyn and dra/wen water oute of the harmeron of the ſhippe/ and alſo as ye may ſee the patrone maiſter or lodeſman whiche that holdith & kepith the withir of the ſhip which reſtyth & ſittith in the ende of the ſhip & takith kepe to the nedyl & compas to knowe the directe coure of the ſhip ſaylyng doth not that keſynes of bodily ſtrength whiche he lon/geth to yong men to doo/but alle the charge & welfare of of the ſhip marchandize & mennys lyues ſteth in the witt & diſcrecion of the olde man which is patron maiſter or lodeſman of the ſhip/and for thies ſeid cauſes I anſwe/re you/that he dooth gretter & bettir thyng thenne yong men/ for he counſeylith ordeyneth and auyſeth of the

moſte chargeable thynges Whiche ley to be won/for the grete thynges of charge be not made by ſtrengthis of body nor by delyuernes and plyantneſſe neithir by lyghtneſſe of body/but they ley made by counſeill by auctorite experience and by ordenaunces of grete Witt & hygh diſcreſſion/of Whiche thyngys/olde age is bettir prouided & ſtuffed by experience/thenne any othir age/& by olde age they loſe not her tyme. But parauenture ye ſhall replye to me/by cauſe that it ſemith you that nolle J doo nothyng & that J Was Wont to employe & occuppe me in Werre and in deedys of armys in dyuers batailles for the defence to be made ayenſt the aduerſaryes of Rome. And nolle J may Werre nomore/J Whiche Was Wont to be one tyme exercyſed in the office of a knyght occuppyed in bataille & armes/anothir tyme vſyng the office of tribun/anothir tyme the office of an ambaſſiatour or a legat/& anothir tyme ſittyng as conſul. J anſWer you that euir J doo ſomWhat for the profyte of Rome/for before the tyme J ordeyne & deuiſe to the ſenatours the thynges Which be moſt expedient to be doon for the honour of ꝑ romaynes/& J denounce & make to be remembrid long before the tyme of neceſſitee to the ſenatours & to the romayns/by What maner men may reſiſte ayenſt the londe of cartage our grete ennemyes Whiche nolle by longe tyme haue be full euill & malicioully diſpoſed for to make batayle & mortel Werre ayenſt oure cytee. Wherfor knoWe ye Verely Scipion/that J ſhall not ſeee to make ordenaunce & prouiſions Which be longe to defende vs from oure ennemyes ꝑ Ne romains ſhall not drede ne doubte the pollet

of the cyte of Cartage / vnto the tyme that J knolle that it be alto gedyr destroyed by victory of batayle / Which batayll J desyre that the Inmortell godys yeue to the in such maner that thou pursielle the destruccion of the remenaunt that be left kyuyng of our Auncient Ennemyes, Which thy grauntsyre Quintus Fabyus left in the cyte of Cartage, Which deessid nolle yyyiij yere past But he Was suche that in alle the yeris folowyng / ther shal be mynde of his tryumphe and worship And knolle Scipion that thy Grauntsyre Quintus dyed the same yere Whañe J Was made Juge at rome / And iy yere aftir Whanne J Was made consul thy seid Grauntsire Quintus Was made consul aftir the ende of my consulat, And yf thenne thy Grauntsire Quintus had lyuyd, vnto an. C. yere. he shuldy neuir hady be annoiedy discoragid nor Weary of his olde age, for it Was so profitable and so honeste to hym / holl be it that he hadde left the vse and the maner of deedys of armes in Whiche yongy knyghtys / preuey and assaye themsilf, that is to Witt / lightly for to renne, fere for to lepe / & to Juste With speris and to fyght myghtly With ayes & With nakyd swerdys Neuertheles & he had lyued vnto an C yere he Wolde haue ordeyned thies seid occupacons to be eyceased & the study of the comon profite by counceill by reason & by moderat attemperalice & sad deliberacon Which thingys but if they Were in olde men voted by eyperience ourre auicient ffadirs had neuir said ỹ the souerayn coliseill of the cyte Wele gouerned shulde be callid a Wise senate Which signifieth a Wise feliship of olde men, the romains lacedomonois & ley

right noble and of auncyent folkys of Grece. whyche whilom had grete people in their domynacion/they callyd olde men to them/whiche had emongis them the souerayn dignyte & the grettist office/also in suche dignyte or office men deputed not but olde men of connyng/science/and of craftis. And ye whyll rede or here the olde hystoryes of phi-losophres/ye shall fynde that the comyn profytes of other contrees as well as of ours whiche were right grete in dignyte and worshyp haue ben lessid and destroyed by the gouernaunce of yong men of adolescence and yong Age But after that they haue be susteyned and refourmedy in their first astate by the aduyse and gouernaunce of olde men/they haue prosperid in grete worshyp and felicitee/as they dyde by fore tyme, Now telle me Scipion and Telyus holde ye haue lost your comyn profyte that was right grete and full ryche/I make you this demande for they that pleyen the pagentys in the comodyes of pleyes of solas and disportys/whiche Nenius the poete made a dyaloghe of two personys whyche hady loste a right grete and a riche patrimonye of their enherytaunce/It was in semblable wise so questyoned as I doo/And to this other demaundys men answeryn otherwyse to maters whyche ben not specyfiedy here, But the prynapall answere of the poete Nenyus was this/To this gouernaile of your comyn profyte/rualyd & brought to nought/came many nedy yongy maisters ygnorant and vnkonnyngy of the lallys/both aduocatis yong apprentises that presume them connynger in the lawes than they be/and foolys of yong Age / And therfor ye loste that riche patrymonye and

enherytaunce by outragyous gouernaunce and sole hardynes/and for lack of discrecion by the properte of nature and kynde of yonge Age, ffor prudence and goody auyse of grete discression ben the propertees and nature of olde Age/ Scipion oposith and seyth to Caton but for alle that, in olde age is another lack or a defaulte ffor in olde Age is lessid the mynde and remembraunce of the thinges that men kneWe in their yongy age/ Caton answerith I beleue Scipion that the mynde of an Agid man is lasse/but yf he exercise and occuppe it in remembrynge the thynges chargeable that he kneWe before And also it lessith more his good remembraunce yf he be borne a foole/or els naturelly so cuyll of complexion or elles he hurted in that parte of the hede Wherin lieth the vertue memoratyf callyd remembraunce / A noble man of Athenes callyd Themystocles had in his mynde all the names of the cytezeyns of Athenes, Deme ye thēn that Whan Themystocles became olde that he Wolde sa/ lewe the grete and Worshipfull Tylimacus an olde cytezeyn of Athenes in stede of Aristides another olde citezein of Athenes, for soth nay for Themystocles exercised his mynde in recordynge and remembrynge the thynges that he kneWe in his yongy Age. I my self haue knoWen not onely Tylimacus and Aristides, but I haue knoWen their fadirs and their graunsirs/and in the meane tyme that I rede the Epitaphies of scriptures Wretyn Vpon their toumbes , I doubte it not as som men seyne that I do not forgete the remembrauce of their names for by cause that I exercise my mynde in redyng

their Epytaphyes it come ayen to mynde of the men de-
ceassed for whom the Epytaphies were made. More ouer
I shewe you by experience that yf the mynde of man be ex-
ercised in olde age, it lesith not/for I herd neuer say that
ony olde man who so euer he be wolde forgete in what pla-
ce where he hady hyde andy leydy his tresour. Also olde
men haue mynde of the wages fees andy pensyons that
they ley assigned vnto/Andy also of fees & wages that
they haue assygned to other of their counseyl and seruan-
tys, Also they haue mynde of the names of their Creau-
cers towhom they owe, and also of the dutees & goodes
whiche is owyng vnto them. Olde men remembre them
of many and dyuerse thynges of grete weyght and char-
ge. ffor they remembre of the lawes that wyse men haue
made vpon the causes pleted that ley comenyd and ordey-
ned emonge them/ Olde men remembre of the right &
of the constytucions and ordenauncrs/whiche by the bys-
shoppes haue be made for the seruyce of the goddys/They
also remembre full wele how the angurys that be dyuina-
tours doon and sholde determyne and pronostike vpon the
dyuinacions and thynges that be for to come, And also
they bryng to mynde what opynyons had the philosopherrs
in determynyng the causes of the naturelle thynges and
moralle thynges/ffor yf it be ony doubte or debate of ony
thyng belongyngy to the gouernaunce of the worlde/men
goon only to the mynde of experience and remembraunce
of olde men/in the wittys of whom is most naturelle ver-
tu of gostely force and strengthe of the sowle which aby-
deth stylle with olde men/so that the studye andy industry

abydeth hoolly wyth them, that is to wytt/that men, not ; wythstondyng thair olde age/yet they abyden witty and subtyl in their ymagmacions and good conceytes/so that they apply thair courages to tho thynges specially / and they haue wisedome & perseueraunce in the same / And lykwise ye Scipion anth Lelyus that the wyttes and goody remembrauncys abyden not onely in olde men of noble degree and of hygh astate whiche haue honourable & worshipfull offices, but also the wittes and good remembrauncys abyden in other olde men / also whiche haue neuer admynystracion ne gouernaunce of the comon profyte but onely of thair owne propre goodes and preuy thinges belongyng to themself, as of thair housholde kepyng and of thair marchandysing or other honest occupacons vsyng

And the pete Sophycles vnto his grete olde age made in versys dyuers and many tragedies, in whiche he wrote the cuyll and abhominable deedys of the kynges and princes of the worlde. Al be it semed to his children by cause that he was intendant to his bookes to studye, that he was necligent to gouerne his owne propre goodes and thynges/And therfor they made hym to be called in iugement before the iuges, by cause that as it is of custome after the lawe of Rome for to interdire and take away the admynystracion of goody fro them that do not approbe it profytably ne dooth not wele their occupacion and werkes. Also that the iuges of grece wold haue taken away from Sophycles as a foole and neglygent of the gouernaunce of his owne propre goodys and catallys, Thenne the olde man Sophycles began to rehercе

and seye by hert before the Juges a fable of a tragedy cal-
lid Edipus collonnoys that is to witt of a sad Crony
cle and of an hystory lamentable which he had all redy in
his handys and had writyn it not long before/And af-
tir that he hady purposyd andy declaridy his Tragedie he
questyoned to the Juges why it semyd them that he was
a foole which made suche versys andy suche a ditte of a
substanciall processe/thenne he by the sentence of the
Juges was absolued and dischargid of the accusacion of
his childeren/Telle me thenne Scipion and Lelyus
yf the olde age constrayne a may for to be chaungedy or
for to be depryuedy for to seace from his studyes/thise
foure noble poetys Sophocles Elyodus Simonides
and Terlytorus/he answerd nay, Telle me also yf
the olde age constraynedy them to be chaungedy or for to
seace in their studyes thies two philosophers Socrates
and Gorgias of whom we haue spokey here a/fore andy
Omer the poete Pytagoras and demacritus Platon
and Epenocrates/Andy aftir this zenon Celantes &
that worthy Dyogines the which namely ye haue seen
at rome which yn haue bee & bey pryncis of philosophers
callidy Souerayne wise men/forsoth olde age made them
neuir to be chaunged nor to seece in their studye of bookys
redyng/see ye not/that in alle thies poetys andy philoso-
phers lyues the frequentacion & exercise of their studyes
hath be lyke to the tyme of alle their lyfdayes/ffor they
haue studyed by as long tyme as they haue lyued/si-
then that they had be of reason/ But leue we to spelie
of thies studyes of philosophers andy of poetrye which

ley dyuyne ſciences/and̄ come we to ſpeke of the artys of the v̄ ſciences and of the Craftys that men made by labour of body I may name you ſome olde men labo'rs Romayns my neyghbores and̄ my famyliar frendys whiche ley of the grounde of Fabyens/that wo'rkyn ſo faſte and ſo wele that their wo'rkys ley neuir gretter ne letter as thenne whanne they we preſente ther at/be it in ſolbyng corne & greffyng trees or in gaderyng the fruytes and puttyng them in the gatners/that is a thyng more meruelous that thies olde men whiche haue hope to lyue but a while labouryn ſo gretly in ſolbyng cornes of dy: uers greynes in plantyng & in ſettyng trees & in greſ fyng trees to bryng forth dyuers kyndys of frutys,and alſo in gaderyng of them ayen/And in leying vp ſuche pruyſions & tho thyngys neceſſaryes to lyue with all. how be it that in othir men whiche hopyn and truſte long to lyue by them/hit is a leſſe merueile ſo gretly for to labo'ure in ſuch beſynes But ye may ſeye that thies olde men labouren ſo faſte for they thenkyn the vſe of their labours ioyeth them gretly, ffor that ſaye ye/there is no man ſo olde but he weenyth that he may lyue a yere lenger/forſoth Scipion and Telyus, that that ye ſay is ſomwhat true. But olde Caton anſwerith,men la bouryn in thyngys whiche they knowe that to them it ap perteyneth not/nor ſhall not apperteyne in any wyſe/ffor thies olde men ſette plantes and greffyn trees to bere fru tys of dyuers kyndes/by cauſe that they doo profyte & bryng forth fruyte to men that aftir them ſhal come and not to them ſilf onely that settyn thiſe trees,As ſaith

ſtacy an auctor of oure cyte in a booke of his whiche men namyn Sinophedys in whiche he ſpekith of the age of men or they haue berdys/ſoſoth ſaid ſtacy/the labourer how be it that he thenkyth he is olde he dare wele answere to him that demaundith and aſkith hym for whom and to whom he ſettith and greffith the trees/I ſett them ſeid he to the goddys Immortall and not to me ne to them that by myne elders in age which anone ſhal dye That is for to vnderſtond I plante trees to the men & bylde caſtels townys & houſſes for to dwelle vppon for ratures whiche ſhall be borne aftir my decees, And alſo I ſette and graff thies trees to the ſeruice and profite of the goddys/whiche onely wolde not that I ſhuld reſceyue of my predeceſſours thies trees/but the goddys wolde that I ſhuld gyfe them to ſuch that aftir me ſhall come as is before declarid and ſaid, Scipion and Lelyus apoſyn/forſoth Caton better ſpekyth the philoſopher Cecylius, thenne did the labourer of whom thou ſpekyſt of for Cecylius ſaid, of an olde man whiche thought yit to lyue by a grete age, By god ſaid he, dame olde age/yf thou ſhuldiſt not bryng with the any othir vice or any othir defaute of feliate and bleſſidneſſe whan thou comyſt thẽne is age/yit thou bryngyſt a vice & a defaute/whiche ſuffiſith to the diſconfortyng of myſerye and vnhappyneſſe/that is to witt/that in lyuyng long tyme the man ſeeth many thyngys whiche he wold not ſee/and alſo he ſeeith many thyngys whiche he deſyrith gretly for to ſee for his ſyngler ioye and pleaſire And alſo it is true that a man beyng in adoleſcence of yong grene

age fallith oftymes in thynges of displeasyng, and
suche/that he wolde that he had not seen them. Scipi;
on and Lelyus oposyn, forsoth Caton the philosopher
Cecilyus saide of olde age a thyng is no more vitupe;
rable and lothyng/thenne is the same that he seeith here
before J holde sayd he a thyng that is most wretched of
alle thyngys that men may feele and preceyue that in ol
de age/holde any olde man is hatefull and lothfull to any
man, be it also of an olde man or of ony othir age Ca
ton J answere you that the olde man is not hatefull to
anothir, but is glad & amyable/for as the old wise man
hath delectacyon with the adolescence/and in yong men,
whiche haue in them some tokyns of resemblaunce and
shewyng to be goody and worthy of noble courage in ty;
me/to come to grete worship, and that olde age is softir
and more ioyous whan olde men ben halwntid and loued
of yong men/ Also yong men and adolescent haue io;
ye to receyue the comaundementys and techyngys of ol
de men by the which yong men ben introduced and enfour
myd to the studye of vertues and of good workys which
makyn their olde age ioyfulle and amyable to wardes the
worlde/ Ye two yongy men Scipion and Lelyus J
vndirstonde that ye be glad & louyng to warde me/therfor
J seace here after for to say ony more of this mater/ffor
ye see and vndirstonde wele holde olde age nomore thenne
othir age is not languyssshyng nor seeke nor slouthfull
nor ydyll, But namely olde age euir worketh and labo;
ureth and doeth and makith redy euir somwhat/that is
to witt suche as he did & exercised in the aages precedent

yf ye aske me what olde age labourith, I answere you that olde men lerne somthyng ouir that they knowe as we hier by the hystoryes that Solon oon of the Chief vij wise men of Athenes that aftir their decesse were cal lid philosophers/ glorifyed hym to haue lerned in his olde age the science for to make versys in metyr aftir the mesure of tyme and nombre of sillables and Solon said that he became olde euery day in lernyng somwhat as I haue do that haue lerned as I saide the letters and the langage of grece as willyngly and as desiryngly as he that drynkith couetously and largely of the cuppe that wold slake his thurst that he kare longe And knowe ye that I haue lerned the letters and the grekisshe langage by cause that I myght knowe by the grekisshe historyes the exsamples, wherof ye see me to vse in this booke/ And as I haue herd say that Socrates a grekisshe philosopher had in his olde age lerned for to pley with musicall Instrumentys with strengys as is of harpyng and lutyng and suche othir maner Instrumentys of musyque I was moued to that, that I shuld also lerne the playe of Instrumentys of musyk as I lerned the letters and the grekysshe langage/ for the auncient noble men philosophers for the comforte and solace of olde age lernyd to play in instrumentys of musyk with strengys/ and therfor I did putt my study and my labour for to lerne and knowe the letters and the langage of grece in my grete age/

Here endith the seconde part and the first destynctyon of

the book of olde age/And aftir begynneth the thirdy part and seconde distinction Which Caton answerith confoundith and repreuith them of the seconde defaulte of uitupe/racyon opposedy ayenst olde age

Of the nombre of the ffoure causes here aboue rehersed/Where by howe/& in what wise olde age semith to be noyous & lothely/the seconde distinctyon conteyned the cause why olde age semith to be myschaunt noyous & wretchid/that is to wite by cause that it makith the body seke & feble/Wherfor I answere you Scipion & Lelius that forsoth I desire not for to haue the strēgthis nowe of an adolescēt yong man aftir that I am become an olde man nomore thēne I desyred whanne I was an adolescent yong man to haue the strengthys of a bulle or of an Olyphant, A man ought/wele for to vse in euery age of that thyngy that nature yeueth hym/and also it appartyneth that thou doo alle thyngys aftir the mesure and aftir the quantyte of thyne owne propre strength and not to vsurpe and take the vnto gretter thyngys than thou maist not nor hast no power to execute/ ffor it may not be said more abhominable nor more spitefull worde than was that which was said of a champyon callid Mylo Whiche was of crotoine a cyte of greee Which Mylo than beeyng olde as he sawe the myghty champyons and wrestelers which preuedy and assayde their strenghtys by dyuers maners in the comon place that was ordeyned for to doo such maystryes/This Mylo as men seyen/lokidy vppon his armes andy said with weppyng terys/forsoth thies armes and andy thies sydes arne dede/But I telle the Mylo that

thyne armes and thy ſydes for whom thou wepiſt ſore/ ley not ſo dede as thou arte thiſelf, which is but as a Ja per both feynt & feble/ & forſoth thou were neuir reputid noble for no wiſedom/ nor for no vertu of thyne owne myght and courage, but thou haſt ley worſhyppid and ſett muche by for thy ſtrong armes and for thy ſtrongy ſydes whan thou didiſt wraſtill ayenſt othir men' this Mila a man vnworthy and vnnoble of litle reputacyon for any wiſedom that he had/ but for his ſtrongy ſydes and the brawnys of his bonys and ſynewys, which from his adoleſcent yongh age acuſtumyd and vſid to bere vpon his ſhulders a yong and a litle calff, whiche aftir grewe and became a grete and an huge oxe, and by that acuſtumyng & vſe that Mila had to bere it from yougth, and whan he was light it was nothyng greuous to hym for to bere it, aftir that he was growen and become an oxe, heuy grete and huge, The olde Emilius which by ſyx tymes was conſul at rome / wepyd neuir in deſiryng ayen the ſtrength of his yougth, as did Mila the Crothomois / alſo nomore did Titus Cornutatus/ which by many yeris was borne before the ſeid Emilius/ Nomore did alſo that olde man Publius Craſſus/ which alle thre as conſuls ordeyned to the cyteſeins of rome the rightfulle lalle ciuile for to obſerue and gouerne the cytees & the people/ of thies thre olde men that their wiſedom aſcendid in encreacyng & contynued vnto the laſte ſpirite of their lyues, Scipion demaundid a queſtion and aſkith/ yf any olde agid man keeping an oratour or a pletar that is to witt an aduocat lernyng the

lawe for admynystracion of Justice yf it be to doubte that he may erre or faile in damaūdyng or askyng his reasons by the defaulte of voice & of matiers couenable & necessaryes in purposyng and vttryng before a Juge/ ffor so th the office of an aduocat is not onely in clernesse & subtilte of witt/but he must haue in purposing his maters & in declaring both in good reasons of cloquēce & witt a demure countenaūce & bodily strengthe for to speke courageously wel & wisely & also attemperately/after as the causes of the matiers shull require/ As if the mater be comfortable/they to purpose it with a ioyouse spirit/& yf the mater be dolorouse/ lamentable & piteous/than he must purpose & declare it with lamentable speech & soft cōtenaūce

Caton answerith & seith that voice which is temperat soft and demure of swete eloquent speche purposid/which hath be exercised in the oratour/that is lernid in his yougth/It shyneth and flourisshith parfytely in the man whenne he is come in olde age whiche is so syngulere a thyng that I knowe not the cause of it/but as a vertu geuen to hym/and as ye knowe I haue not loste the voice of swete eloquence both acceptable and fauorable/and yit ye see that I am lyke/peris of age/ But neuerthelesse yf ye will knowe why the voice that is soft and demure shewith acceptably in the mouth of olde men/I answere you that the speech of the olde man faire of good eloquence yf it be curtoysly peasybly and temperatly vttred/ the witt and the swete langage of the wise olde man maketh hym fulle oft to haue grete audyence and fauoure of the hereres/ And yf thou whiche art

olde haue parauenture som reson so long or so harde for to pronounce or plede which thou maist not accõplisshe & fulfill in spedy tyme/ neuirtheles thou maist honestly comaũde to such yong men as ben **Scipion** & **Lelius**/ that they vttir & speke for the/ & the aged mans office is to mynistre his sage counseill by his instruction to the yongy orators studyeng the lawes/ wherby he may the more sadly & grounde his maters to a goody conclusion by his grete wisedom/ for ther is nothyng more ioyfull to studiẽtys lerners than is olde aged men approued/ in connyng which be accõpanyed/ & felisshipid as amonges yong men which haue appetite & courage to studye & lernyng/ for to obeye to the comaundementys of olde men/ And we olde men leue som thynges which we myght wele doo after the strẽght of our yeris to thentente by cause that yongy men ben by vs taught & enfourmed/ for to exercise & for to doo all honorable office by/ There is no worke nor occupacion more noble & more comendable than that by the which olde men teche yong men to exercise & to doo all honorable office/ And certaynly me thought whilom that thies vi noble olde men of worshipp/ **Silyus Publius** & the two **Scipions** thy graunsirs & **Lucius Emilyus** & **Publius Affricanus** were full blessid/ fortunat & happy/ whẽ they were in the felisship of the noble yong men romayns whiche of the seidy olde men tokie theyr samples of vertues/ ffor me ought to thenk that all olde men ben full blessid & fortunat which ben maisters & techers of good condicõns grete wisedomes and profitable sciences/ And how be it that the naturell strengthis lacken & faillen in olde men

neuerthelesse that lackyng comith more ofter by the vices & outragyousnes of yong age than it comith by the vices of olde age, ffor the age of adolescencye outragyous & euill disposid, & intemperat, yeldith & causith the body to be feble & vnweldy in olde age/ ffor where as Cirus kyng of perse was full olde, he cõfessid by his worde that he hadd/ at the tyme of his deth, that he felt not, nor neuir perceyuid, that he was in any wise become olde by cause of olde age, no more than he was in adolescence as telleth an historyographe a cronicler callid Exenophon, I remẽbre me that whyn I was a childe I salle an olde man consul romayn callid Lucius metellus, sithen that he had be iiij yere the chief of the bisshoppis of rome after that he hadd be twies consul, he was hool & bygorus in vndirstondyng & he duellid in that dignyte of souerayn bisshop by xvij yere & in so good strengthis he lyued, to the laste ende of his age, that he ne required nor desired neuir to retourne ageine to the state & age of adolescẽcye/ It nedith not to me for to saye any thyng of my silf holl be it that this bokie that we makie is the werke & processe of recomendyng of olde age & which appartenyneth to our age that be olde men as be they of whom we haue spokyn, Ye also may see holl Nestor one of the kyngys of grece techid & enfourmed, & sett before the exsamples of his wisedomes & vertues in a boke that Omer the pote made of ỹ batayle of troye, Nestor at that tyme whyn he prechid & taught his vertues was thẽne in the thirde age of man for he was vppon an hundird yeris & yit he made no doubte but in recomẽdyng hym silf, he semid to be full awgaũt & auaũtyng & neuerthelesse he recomendith not onely hym self, but the pote Omer

hym preyseth also of his grete vertues/ ffor certeynly seid Omer of the tongue of olde kyng Nestor stilled & droppid a langage swetter than hony, and for to speke that of his swetnesse of langage the seid kyng neidid not of strength of body/ and neuirtheless the kyng Agamenon duke & leder of the batayle of grece ayenst the tropens askid, neuir ne requyred, to the goddys immortell / that he myght haue y such kynyghtys as was the yong Ayax by cause that Agamenon myght the rathir discomfite the tropens. But the duke Agamenon asketh & requireth to the goddys that he myght haue vj such olde men as was that kyng Nestor & Agamenon said/ that yf he myght haue vj such olde men, he doubtyd not but within short tyme troye shulde be takyn & destroyed/ But in leuyng to speke of myself that am of thage of fourscore & iiij yeris/ and forsoth I wolde that I myght magnifye & auaunt my self of that same thyng/ whereof Cirus kyng of perse glorifieth & vauntyth hym, saying of hym self/ that he felte neuir nor parceyued that he was in any wise become feble by cause of olde age/ no more thane he was in his adolescencye. But algatys I say this of myself/ that nowe I am not of such strēgth as that I was at that tyme whēne I was knyght in the batayle pumike in aufrik/ or at that tyme whanne I was consul in spayne or foure yere aftir that I was tribun of the romaynes kynyghtys & fought nyeh to the moūtaynes callid thermophiles that departen the peroes from the grekys/ & at that tyme whan marcus attilius regulus was consul/ But as ye see Scipion & Telius, olde age hath not enfeblid me of all & wastid my body/ and also ye see

that the court & the parlement of the senatours asketh not nor desiren my bodily strengthis/that is for to vndirstõde but for to cõseill the thyngys & the causes publikes/for ỹ comon profite which concernyth the comon welfare of the cyte to be wele guyded/hit nedith not to the expedicyon of the thyngys that I be strong of body/but onely it suffiseth that I be prudent & temperate/Juste & strong in courage/also the seeges of the auditoryes of the Juges which I occuppe & exercise requyren/& demãde not that I be strong of body/nor my frendys nor my seruaũtys/ne tho that occuppe & haũten myne house/askey not that I be strong of body/for without any grete strength I may doo my deuoire to spede them/ And knowe ye Scipion that I neuir consented to an olde prouerbe/that many men approuen & cõmende/which amonysseth & signifieth that thou be comyst olde hastily yf thou wilt long be olde but I had/lyner that I were not olde than I were olde/or I shulde be/by naturell age And forsoth there is no man that myght yit/take or saye ayenst me how I haue ben occupied & assaied to be olde/or I shuld haue it aftir cours of nature/& true it is that I haue lesse strength of body/thẽne ony of you tweyne/ And also non of you two haue the strength of this captayne romayne called Titus poncyus/and how be it that the seide Titus haue grettir strength than any of you two/yit he is not therfor stronger in vertu by cause that any man ought to be reputed and acomptyd/for strongy/It suffisith onely that in hym be temperaunce of strength/ That is to witt that he vndirtake not the thyng which he may not

perfourme/ And also it must nedys be that euery man
enforce hym and putt hym in deuoire to begynne that
thyng whiche he may perfourme/and yf euery man will
tempre & moder his strength so as I haue saide/he shall
haue grete desyre & plesire in his strength as I shall shewe;
Be you by thexsample folowyng, The worthy knyght
Hercules and also the men of grece ordeyned, from iiij,
to iiij yeris in the montayne of Olympus the highest
of the worlde Justyngys turnementys & wrestlynges in
the worship of their god Jubiter/Thene it fortuned/ þ a
champyon callid Milo of crotoyne came in to the place &
in the cyrcuyte whereupon men made thies playes, he bare
as men sayne a beef callid an oxe vpon his shulders by the
space of an hundird paces, So I question the Scipion
which strēgth haddist thou leuer to haue eyther the strēgth
or the witt of the philosopher Pytagoras, or the strength
of the seid Milo/ffinally I telle the thou oughtist vse
of the bodily strengthis whiche is oon of the goodys
of nature in the meane tyme whan thou haste them/
But whan the goodys of bodily strength ben nomore
in the/thenne thou shuldist not require it nor aske it sa;
ue that thou maist saye parauenture that the adolescen;
tys which ben in the third age oughten to desyre & aske
after the age of puerice which is seconde age/& by that he
is the ferthir from deth/ Therfor I telle the Scipion, that
whan men ben somwhat entrid & come within adolescence,
which is an age fructuouse and profitable, they to require
it and to aske it/And not puerice callid Childhode
whiche is without auaile and profite The cours and

the weye of age is certeyne and determyned by nature/ Whiche hathe onely alwey which is symple & is nothyng different more in the one than in the othir/ But eech goo by that symple and determyned, they after the degrees in their cours from the one age in to that other/ And yit nature had geuen to euery part of age his owne propre seasoon and tyme, and hir partynent cours of vsage in kynde / That is to witt, that sekenesse and maladye is propryd to the age of pueryce in childhode, & cruelte is appropryd to the age of yougth/ Worshipfulnesse and sadnesse of maners be appropryd to the age of virilite which is is the fyfthe age/ Moderaunce and temperaunce be propred to olde age/ Eueriche owith to haue sumwhat naturelly and appropred vnto that/ whiche may be gadird in his tyme I wolde Scipion that thou woldist geue me audience, & I shall tell the what thyng did olde Malimilla one of the kyngys of auffryk, whiche was oure ene; my and also he whiche was Telpus felowe/ whenne thou foughtist and discomfitist in bataile Siphar/ the kyng of Munyde, This Malimilla which was of age xviij yeris whēne he begāne to walke on fote/ he wolde not skipp on horsbak/ & whēne he rode an hors bak, he wolde not lyght downe during all that voiage/ he was neuir constrayned for to kouir his hede/ for any rayne nor for any wynde or wedyr were it neuer so colde, This olde Malimilla had in hym a souerayne dryenesse & leenesse, & also he fulfillid & mayteyned all souerayne officis & all noblenesse partey ming vnto a noble courte & to ryall puissauce/ that is to witt to be a tresorer a countroller and a steward orels a

Graunt mayſtir in a kyngys or in a pryncys court/By this thenne apperith that the exercitacion / the frequentacion and the attemperaunce that a man kepith in his yong age/may kepe in olde age/ſumparte of the auncient ſtrength which was before in the body Some may oppoſe me/that in olde age ther be no ſtrengthis/and I anſwere to that/thar is noon olde man that aſkith to olde any ſtrengthe or any wexlie that be doon by ſtrength/By this apperith thēn that aftir lawe Ciuile and aftir auncient ordenaunces by ſtatutes & cuſtumes of a londe/oure olde age ought to be keſyed/occupyed/and medeled/with publike offices of dignitees or pryuees/as to be counſeillours and gouernours of cytees and tolwnes/ſo that they be ſuche/that men may exercyſe them withoute bodily ſtrength/Andy by that we olde men be not onely free to doo that/whych we may not/neithir we namely be conſtreyned to doo aſmuche as we myght doo/ But Scipion thou myghtiſt oppoſe me ayenſt olde age/that ſome olde men ben ſo feble that they ſhuld not molde exercute nor doo ony publique office of dignyte or pryue pertenyng to his kyuyng/ I anſwere the that this vice is not propird to olde age/but is to comon vices of ſekenes and of nonpoiſer of feblenesſe of body Thenk Scipion how feble was Publyus affricans ſone/whiche brought the vp andy adopted the as his ſone Thenk how by a lytle ſykeneſſe he was enfeblid/whiche and hit hady not be come vnto hym/he ſhuld haue be the ſeconde named in prowheſſe and renōme in actys of martialle cauſes aftir the noble Fabyus for the ſone of

Publius ouircame & in renome surmounted his ffadir by Justice & right Wisnes & science Vsyng, Wherof he had the more in his courage to mynystre & exercise Ther is no merueil thenne yf olde men be somtyme sekely and feble, sith that it was so that they of adolescentys age, and namely yong men may not eschelle sekenesse of body/ Therfor I telle you Scipion and lelyus that men must resiste to olde age by cause that they myght eschewe and putt away dissolucion slouthe and ydelnesse by diligent labour and studye. And men must in lyke wise by exercitacion and by studye fight ayenst olde age by cause that it falle not by no vicious lyuyng, lyke as by prouisions and remedye of goody dyetyng, men fyght and perserue them ayenst sekenes of body/ Olde men owen to haue in olde age suche conduyte guydyng and mesure by moderate exercise of labour/as sekie men vse to haue/therfor it must be auysed that olde men vsen of smale and lyght exercitacions and of temperat labours/ Hit must also be counseilde that olde men ete and drynke meetes of lyght and good digestion/so that the strengthis and the bodily vertues be replete and susteyned and not stoppid, by surfetes of hardy metys or by surfete of drynkys. And hit nedith muche more to socour and helpe to the thought and passion of the soule & to the courage of olde men / by cause that by the socour that he dooth to suche thoughtys and the mynde of good remembraunce faile not lesse/and that he courageth / as he may exercise & occuppe hym in the thyngys parteynyng to olde age/ ffor as the light of a lampe

quenchith & dieth/but men putt in sum oyle to the quan-
tite that it lessith, So the thought in which is the myn-
de of man & the courage of hert/wherin is the wisedome/
reste stynte and faile but yf they be socourd with such com
fortable thyng of pleasyre/and comfortable exercitacons
of mery communycacyons as is in recordyng & redyng
the bookys of vertu, and connyng in cronycles and histo
ryes of their noble predecessours and bryng them so ayen
to more parfite remembraunce after that men haue redy
them. And it is certeyne that as their bodyes so aa-
ged ben woxen greuid and wery by payné & labour. So
their courages ben susteyned / and releuid by exercitaci-
on of vse of studye of memory and mynde keepyng /
ffor whanne Cecylius the pete in a comedy of a me
ry boke of his saith that olde men ben sottys call'id / o-
thirwise foolys for he seith that olde man without exer-
citacyon of redyng or heryng good historyes they be dis-
posid lyghtly to beleue alle the thyngys or tales thowh
they be not profitable to them that they here saye/by cause
that they haue no demyng in them/and also they be forg-
ed fulle by replecyon of colde & fleumatike humoures/
and the more by cause that they haue not exercised in a-
ge the vertu of remembraunce, and also they ben noyous
and daungerous straunge for to please without hauyng
of moderacion and temperaunce by cause of weykenesse of
their complexion/ben disposed, more to sekenes thenne
they were in yougth Thies thre sekenesses come not to a
man by cause of olde age/but they ben the vices of the
nature of olde neclygent age / as is slouth and slepe,

And as to wantõnesse & fleshely delectacõn it is more the vice of yong men thenne of olde men/ and also wantõnesse is not onely the vice of adolescente men/ but it is the vice of euyll disposed adolescent persones/ and such aged fooly whiche men callyn oute of reson mystulyd or sotted at some seasons, whiche condicion comyth to som olde men Whit comith to suche olde men that were light of courage in their yougth, and were not stable in wisedome nor in studye. Appius of whom I haue spokyn before was a worshypfull preest of the temple of the goddys of Minerua/ he keeyng blynde and olde gouerned his foure sonys, whiche were full growen and strong men/ and his fyue doughtirs and a grete houholde and grete feliship he kept wyth ontyn any help & without counseill saue onely of hymself. This Appius had his courage lent and geuen to wisedome and to good memorye as it hadyn be aboue/ and to whom the bodily strengthys failed/ yit he was neuir submyttid to olde age/ but he entendid to study and to publyke besynes and pryue/ as in geuyng goody aduices & counseill to such as had Rule and gouernaunce of/ to mynistre Justice & in keepyng good housholde/ Appius olde and blynde held soueryn rule and domynacion had vpon his subiectys and seruauntis/ for they bare hym reuerence and doubted his puissaunce/ his seruauntys dred hym/ his childerne obeyed hym/ and alle tho that haunted hym louid hym & had hym in grete worship & fauour, and this Appius was of courage vigorouse & as a man geuen to grete watche as it was in his ffader/ and also he hadyn and vsedyn the doctryne of hym

Therfor I telle you Scipion and Telius that the olde man is to be pleasid, and with honeste to be reuerenced, so that he defende hym with the yefte and tresours of memorye, by studye and by exsamples, by auctorite by reuerence and by the othir armes of vertues lyuyng and of sciences/ Olde age is honeste yf it holde and kepe his dyuyne lalke, by whiche it is withdrawen for habounadonyng and withdrawyng from takyng hym self to vices if it be wele fornyssyed and supportid to his trouth and complexion by whiche he lyuith aftir temperaunce & reason. The olde man is honest and goody if he make hym gouernour and ensourmer of his childeren & of his mayne & seruauntes vnto the laste ende of his lif aftir his auctorite & to his puissaunce/ffor soth so as I approue and preyse the adolescent man / whiche hath in hym somthyng parteynyng to olde age as is temperaunce and sobirnesse. Also I comende & preyse the olde man which in hym hath somthyng parteynyng to yougth, as is som strength of body and constaunce of good courage The man that folowith that whiche I haue aboue sayde he may be olde of body, but he shall neuir be olde of courage to exercyse goody deedys/ I Caton whiche am olde haue nolke betwix my handys the vij book wherin I trete the birthis of the auncyent people of renomme of ytayle/In this book I gadir to gedir all recordable processe of euery noble cause that I haue purposid/and studiedy for to please by aduocacye before the senatours and othir Juges of rome that is to witt, like a seriaunt of the lalke or the kyngys promoter or speker of his parlement or

his attourney generalle ora prentise of court declarith & pledith his maters that ben comytted to hym of thies causes/ I compile and make nolle oracions proposicions & plees by whiche I shelle the fourme and maner to you to purpose and plede here aftir plees and causes in demaun: dyng and asking right and iustice to be mynistrid or in defendyng a wrong/ surmysed in causis crymynelle and ciuile imperiale whiche is the comon lalle in rome vsidy,

I Caton whiche am olde trete/ and compile nolle a duime booke of a lalbe by the whiche I teche holb and by what cause men shulde make the argumentys by reasons and writyngys of philosopheres and clerkis prenostiques for to come/ that is to witt the diuynacions for to kno: lbe the doubtuouse thyngy/ and vncertayne, present and by exsample as by constellacyons of coniunctyons and aspectes of the vij planetes and by eclipses alwele of the sonne as of the mone & by the introites & entrees of the sonne in to the xij signes of the yere passidor for to come as derry pestelences/ derth of cornys oyles and wy: nes, and impressions of the ayre of grete coldys and hetys/ dryneslle or moistnes grete stormes & wyndes, I trete also the right lalbe of ciuile/ causes & the ordenaun ces of high dignyte of bisshops and prestys holb and in what wise shuld be deputed and ordeynedy to them, as in obedience and reuerence that seruen to the grete goddys of the temple/ I in makyngy thies thyngys a for: saide/ vse much of the bookys of the grekys philosopheres

I vse much, also of the maner of the disciples of the philosopher pytagoras by cause to exercise my mynde of

remembraunce/ffor so as the mynistres and the scolers of Pytagoras lernyd the argumentys and the specula; tyf of science of dyuers cõnyngys by the space of v yere/ and by othir fyue yere aftir that the seid scolers studyed her doctryne without speche made to them but by the thought and study speculatife practisyng vpon the seuen sciencys that they had lerned of their maistir before/ And than by ten yere after / they had habilite and licence to enfourme and teche othir scolers and studientys, Al so I recorde and remembre at euen/alle that I haue said/ and all that I haue herd/and all that I haue do the day precedent/suche be the exercysynges and workys of my witt and also of my thought/whiles I trauaillid and labourd in thies thyngys aboue saide, Therfor I desyre not gretly to haue muche strength of body onely/but I am redy to my frendys if they haue nede of me / I come to the senatours and to the parlementys & to open cour; tys accompanyed with the feliship of my bretheren and frendys/I bryng with me suche materes and processes that I haue long before thught/also I defende my proces; se & matiers & also afferme the processe aftir as the causes shall require before the senatours, not by the strength of my body but by the power and strength of my wittes and the courage of my hert/That is to witt/by counseill by deliberacion by auctorite and by wysedome/and if I shuld not mow execute nor bryng to a due ende the ma; ters and processes of my owne/as of my frendys/ Ne; uertheless in lyng and restyng in my bedde I wolde deli; te and enioye me in thenkyng the good conduit of thies

thynges holde be it J that shuld not moste spede it incontynent/but J haue so demenyd me/and lyued in tyme past that J myght both spede in dooyng myne owne processe/and also tho of my frendys materes before the senatours and othir officers of Justice publik within a resonable tyme/ ffor soth he that lyueth and endurith in such studyes and in suche labours alwey as J haue lyued/he may not vndirstonde nor fele in what tyme olde age hydeth hym silf within hym/And by that vndirstondyng his age/lytle and litle growith & becomith olde without that the may can neithir parceyue nor fele it/and so his age is nothir brousyd nor brokyn sodeynly by olde age, but his age streyneth and failleth by the length of the tyme or he knowe it/

Here endith the thirde part and seconde distynctyon 'and aftir begynneth the fourth parte/in the whiche duc Catton answerith and confoundith the thrid vituperacyon of defaute opposid to olde age/and begynneth in latyn **Sequitur Tercia distinctio/&c**

a ftir the forseid two reproues & defautys alledgid and opposid ayenst olde age/Nowe folowith the iij vituperacion & defaute by the which yongh men seyne/that olde age is noiouse/myschaunte/& wretchid by cause it hath almost no flesshely delectacyons or sensualitees/as for to gete with childeren and yssue to encrece and multiplie the world/ To whom J answere forwith/that it is right a noble gyfte reward & the right

grete worship of olde age, that it be sequestred/ depryued/ and dischargid of the delectacyons of sensualitee of the body or flesshely lustis / for yf it be so that olde age be pryued and sequestred of such delectacyons, It had takyn awey from vs olde men, that thyng whiche is right vi; cious & right foule in the age of adolescence & yongthe,

And neuertheless the my right good and louyng yong men Scipion and Lelius/ ay auncyent senatour pur; posid ay oracion/ that a philosopher callid Architas made whiche was takyn of Haniballe duc of cartage when he werrid in ytaile he was recouerde by Quintus fabius the noble senatour when he recouerd tarente, takyn by the said Haniballe, Architas was pryncypally a grete man connyngly lernyd in sciences and in vertues and was right famous and noble, this oracion purposid/ which ar; chitas made was yeuen to me, when I adolescent and yong of age was at tarente with the seid fabius, and by this oracyon seid architas that nature which ordeyned to men complexions, gaue neuir no pestelence peyne nor turment / more damageable to yong men than is flesh; hely delectacyon, the coueitous playsirs of delectacyon mo uen tyce and steeren men ouer boldely and without dri; dell of reason or shame or any restraynt to execute and make an ende of their foule lustys/ for thought/ delectacy; ons ben made and conspired treasons diuisions and dis; sencyons of countrees & the destruccions of their comon profite, and the secretes of parlementys disclosed to our ennemyes and aduersatye partye, there is noon entrou; the, there is noon euyll werke/ but plesyre of delectacyon

Which ſhall conſtrayne men to encline therto/ by cauſe that they enioyen oute of meſure of ſpouſehode breking & that ſo feruently/ The cauſe of defoulyng of maydens virgins the anontry of wedyd women & all ſuch corrupte vntrew werkys/ whiche ben neuir meuid nor vndirtakyn/ but by the inſolence & wantonnes & wenlacys of fleſſhely delectacyon/ Architas alſo ſaide, that as nature by power of which god hath yeuen to men nothyng bettir than is the ſoule, by the which they haue vndirſtondyng & mynde/ alſo to that ſoule which is an office & agift dyuine/ nothyng is ſo grete ennemye nor ſo contrary as ben fleſſhely delectacyons/ for ſith delectacyon & fleſſhely pleaſir haue domina cyon in the regyon of man/ That is to witt in the courage of his body/ the vertue of attemperaūce may not be lodgid therin/ & within the regyon of man which is yeuen to delectacyon may not abyde any wiſedome nor vertue, & by cauſe that this thyng may be vndirſtonde/ Architas wolde that ſom ſhuld fayne & ymagyne in his courage & conceyte that ſom were meuid by ſome delectacyon of body as grete as any man myght preue it & knowe it then/ There is no doubte ſaide he, but while the man is geuyn to ſuche ſenſualite/ which ſhall enioye of that delectacyon as playnly & as largely as any man myght enioye of it, that then he ſhulde not molde demeane hym in vndirſtondyng nor in mynde neithir he ſhuld molde be of power to vndirtake any thyng of worſhip nor proffite to perfourme by reaſon nor by any good auiſe. And therfor ſeid Architas that ther is nothyng ſo curſed nor ſo infortunate as delectacōn of body vnmeſurably vſed, And if ꝑ

delectacyon Whiche is litle & shorte, Were gretter & longer, it Wolde quenche and dyngy to nought alle the light of the courage and of the clerenesse of the lyf. And knoWe ye Scipion and lelius, that one of myne hoste: tes callid Nearcus Citezeyn of tarent, Which had be long in the frendship of allyaunce of the people of rome, saidy that he herdy telle to more auncient men thay he Was, that the saidy Archites pronounced the Wordys here be: fore Wretyn in disputyngy of delectacyon With Gayus Poncyus ffader of the seidy Archites and citezeyn of Sannite a cyte of Poyle, This Poncius Was so Worthy and so manly that in a batayle made before Can dy he discomfitedy tWo consuls romaynes / That is to Wite Spurius Poltumus and Titus veturius / & Archites disputed of delectacyon in the presence of the philosopher Platon an athenys may. That is to Witt a clerk of Atheenes that thene Wascome to Tarent so as I fynde by the reportys of Lucius Canulus & of Appy us Claudyus consuls romayns, yf ye aske me to What entente, the thynges that I haue here disputedy ayenst delectacyon drabe and stretchyn / I answere you that they belongen and drabeh to thentente that ye vn: dirstonde that yf We men may not despise & flee delecta cyons of body by meane of reason and of Wisedome / We shuld gretly thank olde age sith that he may do so moch, that flesshely delectacyon shuld displease Which is vncouenable to ony man yong & olde. Delectacion of body lettith the deliberacyon of good coliseill, It is the en: nemye of reason, It shyttith faste & closeth the eyen of the

thought and courage which conteyneth vndirstondyng and redy mynde of remembraunce, Neuertheleſſe re; lectacyon hath no kargeyne with vertue, I caused onces al moſt grete maugre myſilf by aſmuche that I caſtidy oute of the college of the ſenatous Gayus Flamyneus brothir of Titus Flamyneus conſul of rome / aftir that the ſaidy Gayus hady be seuen yere conſul to the entent that I ſhulde ſhewe that he was vituperable and defamedy by cauſe that he folowidy delectacyon of body vnmeſurably / ffor where as the ſeidy Gayus had be by the romaynes ſent as conſule in the countrey of gaules / and he ſyttyng at borde was eyhortedy by a re; balde ſtotte of his, that he ſhulde do ſmyte to the hert with a daggar one of his priſoners condempnedy to dye / This Gayus ſcapidy to be dede by ſentence / but he loſte his office of conſul by the ſētence of his brothir Tytus beyng thenne Juge of Rome / which before me hady be neyt conſuk, This delectacyon is ſo euyl and ſo damageable which ſo was repreuydy by me andy by flattus at that tyme conſuls romayns / Sith that the ſame delectacyon was in a man which had ſuche ſyn; gler repreef andy ſuche defame andy ſhame / andy the which with that was in lordſhip andy in dygnyte of offices / othir of lyke degree andy worſhip or benethe her degrees / oughte right gretly pondre andy conſider in their mynde / to putt awey ſuche fleſſhely delectacy; ons. I haue often herdy ſay of oure auncient ffa; ders, tho thynges which they at that tyme when they were childerne hady herdy ſeye to olde men / That is to

Wite that Where as a cytezeyne of rome callid Fabricius
herd a cytezeyn of the countrey of Thellayle saye/ that
in the studye of Athenes was one Epicurus Whiche
callid hym silf a philosopher/ & mayntenede an oppynion/
that all thynges that we doo in soureynte shulde be chief
ly comēdid & reported to delectacyon of the bodye/ Of that
oppynion the seid ffabrycius merueylyd hym/ & to olde men
recounters said/ that (Marcus curyus & Titus Cornu-
cacyus hieryng/ that Which I haue saide before/ They tWo
Whiche in tyme paste had habondouned & disposid them to
sensualite/ and to delectacyon of flesshely lustis/ they were
Woont to desyre that the oppynion of Epycurus shulde
be in semblable Wise exhorted affermid & said to the samy-
toys & to kyng Pirhus their lord/ by cause that ỳ samyto
is & kyng Pirhus ennemyes to the romayns shuldy be
abandouned and disposed to the delite of lecherye/ Whiche
febleth & taketh alley the bodily strengthis of the body/
This Marcus curius/ Which in his tyme exdeyned hym
Vnto delectacyon that he had lyuid & conuersid With Pub-
lius decyus that lyuedy vertuously andy chastely/ andy
by fiue yere before that the seid Curyus was consul/ the
seid Publius decyus With playne Wille of goody cou-
rage habandouned & offird hym to the deth for the saua-
cyon of the publyke Wele & comon profite of rome thēne
When that he Was consul the fourth tyme Gayus Fabri
cius & Coruncacyus knelde the goody knyght decyus /
Thies tWeyne Fabricyus and Cornucacyus myght
certaynly Juge & deme aswele by the conuersacyon as
by the noble dedys of decyus/ Wherof he saith that sum

thyng is naturally so faire and so precious & noble, that it must be sought & desyred with playne hert & effectuell desyre And that thyng so faire & so gracio9 is noon othir thyng but lalde & fame of vertue/ Whiche is suche that for that cause euery right good & wele disposed persone ought to despise & rebuke delectacyon of the body to thentente that he vse lalde and preysyng of vertu. Therfor thene ye may aske and demaunde Why I haue said so many thynges of flesshely delyte and of lecherye/ Wherfor I answere you / that the blame and the shame is not onely ynoughe. But namely it is the grete lalde and praysyng of olde age that it desyreth but lytle flesshely delectacyons / Olde age chargith neuir of dyetes nor of dyuers deynty metys nor of tables richely and diuersly arrayde nor of many dyuers drynkys / Olde age wille not be fulle of wyn oftey for doubte of sekenes / Olde age wille not suffre the akyng of the bely as is the colyk or of the stone or costyfnes. Whiche comyth of takyng somuche mete and so oftey / that it abideth rawe within the stomake, Olde age desyrith not walkyng in the tyme that nature hath ordeyned to slepe. Al be it an aged man is gretly disposed to wake ayenst his wille / ffor soth the philosopher Platon Whiche spake diuersly in a mater that delectacyon attempted by euill disposed men/ that leyen the laite & the snare to delite aged men in replecion of lustis & metys not holefull to them/ & by cause that men be taken & deceyued by the laite sett in the hoke or angle as the bird is taken in the snare, holl be it that olde age wolde haue no metys ne his

tyngys expressyuely, Algatys they may delite in deynte metys and in smale feedyngys and temperate dyete/

At the tyme whan I was yong I salle often an olde consulle of rome callid Gayus duellius whiche was the first that discomfited by nauye and shippys vpon the see the aufricans/ whyn he cam from soper and dyner he oftentymes delited in the instrumentys of musike as playeng vpon strengys of harpes/and such like melodyes and in heetyng the sowne of pipes and trompys/ Also he had takin onely for his delectacyon and solastthies tiwo playes whythoute/that he had seen any auncyent men to delite or disporte them with any othir honeste solas/and that licence and vse of honeste delectacyon had duellius by cause of his glorious victorye/by the whiche he discomfited them of aufrik/ But it is not nede also to remembre in what thynges the othir olde men tokyn their honeste delectacyons, Therfor I shalle come ayen to speke of myself/ ffor from myne yongthe I haue alway hadi felowes and acqueyntedi of vertuous disposid men/ Andi aftir that I was in the office of questour at Rome/ I was ordeynedi in the felesshipe and acqueyntances of yongi men, And in that same tyme the romaynes receyuedi of them of ffrige, the maner to sacrifye to the goddesse/Berchinchia whiche is the grete moder of the goddes/ I drank and ete with my felowes temperately and mesurably withoute any excesse/ But within me was yit an hete of yongth/ but in as much that it procedith curr in approchyng & comyng of myne olde age, alle the delectacyons of the body

hit appesith and̄ softeth/ And̄ knowe ye that J did̄ not rek nor toke any charge/more of the delectacyons of metys and drynkys of wynes/not onely for the delectacyon of my body/but in̄ specyalle that J did̄ more for the delectacyon and̄ contemplacyon that J toke in̄ the felishyp of my frendys/and̄ also in̄ their reasons and̄ their wise and̄ frendely comunicacyons for the solas of my soule/ And̄ consider ye Scipion and̄ Lelius that oure auncient ffaders of worshyp/ whiche haue sett their names as a brethirhede or a gylde to suche assembles namedy/at the feste that is wele and̄ proprely callidy in̄ latyn Conuiuium/whiche is desyridy prayedy and̄ gaderdy/of frendely people in̄ drynkyng and̄ etyng atte table as they wolde themself say or desyre/ that the felesship of the same company/ought to haue a custumable and̄ a continuell assembledy lik at conuement dayes assignedy/ The grekisshe people seidy not so welle of suche festis makyng/for in̄ the stede of suche companyes and̄ congregacyons they saide/that it was ordeynedy for to ete and̄ drynk to gedir/ as the seidy grekys wolde aprowe/and̄ saye that suche etyng and̄ drynkyng as sowned̄y to delyte pryncypally in̄ metys and̄ drynkes/is the leste thyng to acompte amongys the company of frenshyp shewyng and̄ frendes/ Therfor I telle you Scipion and lelius that J delite me in̄ couenable thyngys wele ordeyned and̄ aprouuedy festes by the delectacyon that J haue to speke with my felowes and frendys for oure solacys and̄ comfort/and̄ that they haue with me/and̄ yit J delyte me not oonly with myne

of age. ffor now ther be of them right felle that be lyuyng/but I delite me with them of your age and also with you, I owe also to yelde grete grace thankyngis and prayssynges to olde age/whiche hath encreced/and multiplied in me the desyre to speke with my felowes & frendys. But yf ye aske what is my sentence/yf som olde men delite them in etyng and drynkyng/I answere that by cause that ye thynk not that I wolde moue here & displeaser ayenst alle delectacyon by cause that no man shulde vse of hit/knowe ye Scipion and lelyus that I vndirstonde not nor wyll not/that olde age be destitued of his naturall luste/and desyre by any thyng that it mynysshith and lessith all the delectacyons whiche as be in drinkyng and etyng/ffor to som men befallyn parauenture som delectacyons whiche folowyn and contynue with them naturell maner founded/and grounded in honeste of condicions. ffor I take delectacyon to haue the dignytees and offices ordeyned by our predecessours/I take delectacyon in the wordys of the maistre stuard or of the botiler of the hous/whan he prayeth me or comaundeth me to dyne or take a repaste for his lorde or his maisteres sake orellys to drynke for som mans sake after the custume be of oure predecessours/and also I delite me in the standyng cuppys half fulle of colde wyne/after the custume that an auctor of grece callid Exenophyn wrote in a boke of his named Simoposium/in whiche he treteth and shewith how men shude make their drynkynges emongys frendys and felowe/I delite me in some tyme to fele the colde wynde/and also in wynter tyme I delite me to be

oon tyme in the sõne shynyng/ & another tyme to be atte fyre/ ffor soth also I solowe thies delectacyons a forsaide When I am in my village With the sabynoys my neyghbours, and I make euery day meetynges, steuyns, and assemblees of my neyghbours When I am at sabynes/ and we endure somtyme longe for the moost that we may at oure meetyngys, tylle a grete parte of the nyght be passed, as in spekyng of many thyngys & of dyuers maters

And if thou saye Scipion that the delectacion of bodily delites, is not so grete in the corages of olde men, that it myght stere them or meue them to lecherye or othir sensualitees of the body, for if thies delectacyons be ouer grete/ it shuld thẽne seeme that thou shalt desyre nothyng/ but that it be angwisshouse and sowfull in courage, The philosopher Sophycles Whiche for cause of age was feble, answerde wele and pertynently to one that askid hym if he vsed any more of delites of lecherye and of sensualytee of the body/ I pray god said Sophycles, that he yeue me fortune to desyre better thynges/ for I haue withdrawe fro me, and fled awey from delytes of lecherye as a man shulde flee and withdrawe hym fro som straunge lorde madd or furyous / And knowe ye Scipion and Lelyus that it is parauenture chargeous thyng & enoyouse to yong men that be couetouse of the delites of lecherye if they may not emoye them, But to olde men that be wery and replete of suche delytes, it is more ioyfull thyng to be sequestred/ pryuedy, and quyted/ therof than for to vse and emoye in that, how be it that they be not depriued of bodily delytes/ that they desyre them/ neuir

J say thẽne that it is more ioyfull thyng to desyre not the delectacyons, than it is for to haue them/but if the age of goody and honeste yongth vse of thies delectacyons / it is vsed more gladly first of som litle and smale delectable thynges as we haue saide here before/ And after that the good yong men delited/them in this honeste delectacyon/ wherin olde age vseth not habondauntly and playnly of bodily delites/yit be they/not all for that pryued nor for bodeyn therof, as ye may see by this forsaide ensample Ther is a man at rome callid Turpis Albinus Whiche pleyeth and counterfetyth the pagentys, When the poetys syngen enterludes in playes or tragedyes of sowufull lamentacyons/or othir ditees in versis / in the place callidy the scene or the teatre/the tent or pauilyon/he than whiche is in the first stage nygh the pleyar / hath grete delectacyon in the wordys & in the countenaunce of the pleyar, But also he delitetb therin that is in the laste stage and in the ferthist of the tente or playng place.

Also J telle the Sapion that the age of adolescency: e whiche lokith nygh the delectacyons, gladith parauenture more than anothir age doth But also olde age whiche seeth from ferre the delectacyons he takith a delite in it / asmuche as it suffiseth/ But and ye aske/What arn worth the yong delectacyons that olde age takith / and whiche be so ferr from the body/ J answere you that thies smale pleasurs delitey not the body/but they delitey the courage whiche is the mooste excellent part of a man/

The smale honeste delectacions as olde men saye/maky the courage to be myghtyer and to lyue lenger and

ſtrengthe the may/ for thenne ceſen the wages and ſa;
wlde of lecharye/ of couetyng/ of contempcions of ſtriues/
of enemytees/ and of all couetyſe/ as it be falleth/ like as
it compth to knyghtys and to chief officers whiche aftir
ſipti yeris ben dischargid oute of their offices and comen
to reſt/ Ther is thēne nothyng more ioyfull than is olde
age/ and honeſte ydilnes and reſtyng/ ſo that it haue fee;
dyng and refectyon of ſtudye of ſapience and wiſedome/
and ſome doctryne for to teche to othir tho thynges that
he hadȝ lernied in yongȝ age/ Remembre the Scipion
by how many tymes we ſaw that worthy man Gallus
familier and homely with thy fader whiche was ſo olde/
that it ſemyd that he ſhulde dye/ and yit he contynued by
delectacyon in the ſtudye of geometrye and aſtronomye
whiche be two ſouerayne ſciences for to mete and meſure
the proporcions of heuen and the erthe and of the diſtan;
ce in courſes of the ſterys/ and of her coniunctyons oppo
ſicions and aſpectys by the ſixth part iiij part or thrid
part in aſpectys caſtyng her lightes and influences from
othir/ and what the ſeid coniunctyons and aſpectes ſig;
nyfien vpon thyngys to come/ as hete colde/ raynes dryneſ
ſe/ and wyndes/ derthes/ peſtilences/ & othir infirmytees/
And to knowe the conuenyent dayes and tymes of my;
niſtring of medicines/ as laxatyues/ dygeſtiues/ eppul;
ſifs/ and retentifs/ and the dayes callid Dies cretici &
dies of prenoſtikes of good determynacions/ of the paſſi
ons of a mans ſikeneſſe or the contrarye/ Remembre
the Scipion by how many tymes this Gallus by dele;
tacyon hath begōne by nyght ſom concluſions of thies

two sciences so long that the day came vnwarely vpon hym/and oftentymes he wrote and studied endyng to the nyght,and yit had he begon in the mornyng/he tolde grete delectacyon for to telle vs the effectys of the eclip; se of the sonne and of the mone long before that it shul; de come and befalle/ Thou wotest also how Gallus delited hym in studye of light sciences callid trynals / as be gramer logyk and rethorik in comparison of the quadryuiall sciences/as arts metryk for nombres/Geo; metry for mesurs/Musik for syngyng/and astronomye for diuinacyons/as is before specifyed/But they be sharp and subtyle/and oWght to be in vertuous mens lernyng Wele disposid/ Thou knowist also how that olde man Nenyus delited hym in a tolie Whiche he endited and made, of a batail don by the romayns ageynst them of cartage/ Thou knowist also how the poete Plautus delited hym in two comodies made in balade and enterlu; des that he made/Wherof the one is callid Terencius & the othir Sendulus/ In the first he treteth of the cruelte of a seruant ayenst his maistre/and in the othir he treteth of the falsnes of a bonde man ayenst his lorde/

I haue seen also an olde poete callid Lenyus/Whiche in the studye of rome taught to his scolers,one of his fables of a comedye in balade and enterlude/by six yere or I Was borne/And yit the seid Lenyus proceded & conti; nuedy in faire age vnto the tyme of myne adolescente age/at the tyme Wher Tonus and Tudycanus Were consuls at rome/ What Wilt thou Sapion that I telle the of the labour and of the studye of the olde man

Publius lucanus whiche wrote and treteth of dyuine lawe after the whiche the bisshops and preestis of the temple ought to sacrifie & to serue the godes. Lucianus also wrote and tretith of lawe ciuile after whiche men must gouerne and rule the cytees and countrees, or what wilt thou that I telle the of the labour and of the studye of this Scipion Mylicia now an olde man all redy to departe from the worlde/whiche nowe hath be chosen and ordeyned the moost grettist bisshop of rome ffor certaynly we haue seen alle thies whiche I haue remembrid to the/that were olde men hauyng a sharp and a feruent desyre in entendyng the occupacyons that I haue seid/in the whiche they had pleasyrs and honeste delectacyons, Thenk also Scipion in how grete labour of studye I salle fulle besye this olde man Marcus Thetegus to whom the poete Ennimus callid hym his swete hony/by cause that his boke was so retoriquely made/and was of the said Thetegus enditedy/by faire and swete langage in eloquent termes/ whiche enforced men hiering his purposyngys/to meklne and bowe them to byleue all that he had purposid and tolde/ Ye may thene see and knowe/what be the delectacyons of metys drinkys and of playes/and also of folissh women and ribaldes, to regarde of wele disposed peple of sadyy gouernaunce, and how grete in comparison of the moralle vertuous men/ that be disposedy for to studye for the auaunsement of the comyn prouffite and of othir seuen craftys of sciences wherin the wise olde men that I haue named aboue/ delitedy gretly, ffor soth thies studyes of doctryne and

of sciencys folowed & folowyth the wyse men wele ordeyned in condicyons. And also thies studyes of doctrine haue ley and be suche that they encrecen and multiplye semblaby & egally with the aged men, in so muche that the good and honeste sentences saide by the philosopher Solon that is preuid treble as I haue saide afore/

This philosopher Solon seide that he becam wise in lernyng alwey many thynges by study/whiche he neuir had knowen before. Ther is not forsoth no gretter delectacyon/than is that/by the whiche the wise olde men lerne somwhat by exercise as did the right wyse philosopher Solon/ Aftir that I haue spoken now hier of the studyes/and of the occupacions wherin wise men and lettred haue had/and may haue honestees and pleasirs and delectacyons. I come nowe to speke of delectacyons that wyse olde men may haue in labouragys and culture & approwment of londys / wherin I delite me more than any man wolde or myght byleue, Olde age lettith not the delectacyons and the grete ioye and pleasirs that growen and come of the labourage and tillyng of the landys, and they be suche that as it semith me they be right nygh neyghbours to the lyf of a man, ledyng the lif of a philosopher/ ffor wise olde men procedyn by naturelle reason in the labourages and tillyng of landys/and the erthe refusith not nor disobeyeth the naturelle werkyng to the comaundementis of the wise olde men labourers, ffor the erthe hath receyued/and is softed it yeldith neuir without vsure of manyfolde werkyng the same / That is to witt that the erthe yeldith the double as the seconde

greyn the thrid, and the iiij vntyll the vij greyne & not only the symple agayn, But the erthe in som tyme yeldith that which he hath receyued of the greynes and seedys in lesse vsure of encrece, and som tyme in multiplying encrece grette. And holl be it that the erthe yeldith that, which it receyued, with vsure of encrece, nevirtheless the fruytes of the erthe delitey me, not only in that grete encrece, but namely it delitedy and ioyeth me to knowe the vertue, and the naturell gwhyng and workyng by the which the erthe gendrith thyngys necessaryes and helthfull to men and to bestis. And whan the erthe receyueth the seed sowen in his lappe softedy and keddidy, thenne it is closid first and syttyth faste so that the seed be couird by the instrument of the ploughe, or by the hawke, and in the tyme, in which men sowen seedys and couery the corne, for that cause, it is callid the tyme and seasoy of sowyng, accordyng to the custume and nature of dyuers countres, after that the seedy is heetedy, by the naturell moisture of the erthe and thorough the hete of the sonne, and also by the spraynture of delbys of nourisshyng that the erthe doth to the seed, and to the plantys which is with alle couird, the erthe brekith and castith oute of that seedy an herbe gwhyngy grene, which puttyth and spredith within the erthe small wotys, the & stolkies of the stalkes gwoxen and keyen after grete litle and litle, and after riseth and comyth in to a spryngy and a stalke full of knottys, and whone it comith to the first erys and buddis, hit is closed with smale keues like heres, and after that the seed is remeuid and goon oute

of thies leues/it castyth ay ere in whiche the whete corne or othir grayns ben ordeyned and rengedy ordynatly in suche wise that one corn puttith not oute that othir, and by cause that the smale bridres shuld not lightly ete nor waste the corne, the ere is armed with the closyng of prickis, In whiche thynges to knowe and to exercise and occupye, The olde age may take grete ensample of naturell werkyng and honest delectacyon/why shuld I remembre the delectacyons and pleasirs that olde age may take in considerynge and knowyng the nature of the vynes/the maner of the settyngys and of the shredyngys and cuttyngys of hit in seasyn, ffor to thentente ye knowe the reste and the delite of myne olde age, I telle you that I may not be wery nor fulfild of the delectacion that I take in the labourages of corne and of the vynes/ I leue to telle what delectacyon olde age takith in knowyng and considering the vertue & the naturell strength of alle thynges that be gendred on erthe/ffor of a smale grayne of a figge or of a litle smale peppyn or kernell of a roysyn or of a smale corne of whete or of ony othir seedys or of som smale wandes and braunchis the erthe engendreth grete tronkes and grete trees and bowes/ I demande you Scipion and Lelius if the nedbe blossomys and buddys of the vyne/ if that the sappys that men settyn ayen to the shredyngis that men cuttyn of the vynes chargedy with grapes the wotys whiche spredyn aswele without as within the erthe/ and the plantys that thicken the vyne/yeuen not only delectacon Inough and pleasirs to the olde men/so that they wille consider

in meueilyng them of the thynges a boue ſaid/ O thyng may yeue to olde age honeſte delectacyon / that is to witt how the vyne/ which naturally ſalleth dowine to the grou-de/ but it be vndirſett & ſuſteyned, it mounteth & growith high, and alle that it ouirtaketh it beclippith and enbra-ceth with his tendrenes ſo as if it had the craft & handes And the laborers of the vynes aftir their crafte / arte & reaſon/ kepyn that the vyne growe not/ but aftir reaſon nor oute of meſure/ for they cutt it with the vyne hooke, when it drawith or hangeth vpon the grounde/ or when it departed excelliuely in dyuers and croked braunches, by cauſe that the vyne be not to thik by ouir grete braunches & that it ſtretche not in to many partyes. And at the be-gynnyng of the ſeaſon of veer & of ſpryngyng / the vyne growith to the brauches which be lefte in the ſtockes, & in the knottys of the brauchis comith a watir that men call Jennue, whereof aftir that ſelleth the burgeon whereof the grape comith, & this grape which by the moiſtueſſe of the erthe & by meane of the hete of the ſonne begynneth to wexe grete and is at the begynnyng bettir and ſou-re to the taſte / and aftir that it is ripe, it ſhewith ſwe-te, and thenne it is clothed with leues whereof the gra-pe reſceyueth the hete wele temperately / and alſo is de-fendid and kepte from to grete brennyng of the ſonne/

I ſee not forſoth how any delectacyon myght be more ioyouſe nor gladder than is the fruyte of the vy-ne nor fairer for to ſee/ And knowe ye Sapion and Lelius, that ſo as I haue here before ſaide the fruyte of the vyne maketh me not oonly to haue delite/ But namely

the labourage & the nature of the vyne in burgenyng ſuche delicious licours cloſed in grapes, delitey to me for to ſee/ the rengis of the ſtakes that ſuſteyne the vyne/ to bynde or ende egally as the othir to attache and bynde euery tymbre & braunche to his owne propre ſtake, & the growyng of the vynes and the cuttyng of the braſches Wherof ſom ary take away for to brenne & the othir be kept/ for to ſett ayen in othir places, Whiche makyn to me grete delectacyons and pleaſirs, It nedith not that I tell what delectacyons and pleaſirs be to olde age, the dongyng and the dyghtyng of the londys With the ſuperfluyte that is voyded of beſtis and ſlepe, that men make to be ſpredde in a felde/ by Whiche dongyng and compoſityng / the feldes gladeth / the grounde Wexith more frutuous and plentuouſe/ What nedith that I ſeke of the delectacyon that olde men may haue of the prouffite that comith to donge and fatte the landes and feldes/ I haue ſpokyn of dongyng of landes in ony of my bookys Whiche I haue bretyn to the labourage of the feeldys & of the dongyng of the londes, A Wiſe auctor callid Hetredus ſaid neuir ony Worde ydely nor vayne therof, Whan he Wrote his boke of erthe tilyng / that men ſay of the labourage & tyllyng of the feldes/ But the pote Omer Which Was as me ſemyth by many yeris before Hetredus / Whiche Was ony of thoo that taught the maner for to labour and tylle the landes and fruytes and the thynges that growe of it / After Whom Virgile the pote Wrote a booke callid Giorgika

That Omer by his verſys ſaith that Lacertes kyng

of ytacye in grece / ffader of kyng Ulixes had right
swete pleasir in ony of his sones/ which labourd the cul
ture of the erthe tilyeng & ongedy oon of his feeldys,
wherof it was the more ioyfull & more fertile & plenteuo9
in multiplyeng of cornes & fruytes/ And knowe ye
Scipion & Lelius that the thyngys & werkys & besines
se of labourers of the landes & feeldes be gladsom & plea
saūt not oonly by thencreces of whetys & cornys, nor by
the medowes full of gras nor by the vynes full of grapes
nor by dyuers smale & yong trees bryngyng forth fruy
tes/ But also the thynges & the werkys of the labourers
be gladsome & delectable, by the gardeynes full of dyuers
herbys flowres & seedys/ by the curtilages gardyns & or
chardes planted & greffed with dyuers trees, & by the no
rissheyng & feedyng of bestis in faire grene medowes & pas
tures/ & by the hyues of bees kepyng & norissheing of them
whiche makyn wax & hony, by a meruelouse werkyng of
their kynde/ & by the dyuersite of all flowrs & of dyuers
colours of roses. And not olde men haue delectacyon of
the trees that they sette/ or that they doo to be sette, but al
so they deliten themself to sett a tree, & greffe it vpon an
nothir, which is the most subtile & most artificiall thyng
that euir was foūde by labourers of the londe, And nowe
I will tell many delectacyons & many pleasirs which be
in the labourages of the feeldys, But the delectacyons
that I haue aboue tolde be lenger and more durable than
be the other whiche I leue to telle, I trust Scipion
and Lelyus/ that ye shall pardone me by cause that I am
a long speker of ay erthe tilleir in tellyng the delectacōns

Which come & growe of the labourages of londys/and to
thentent that it semith not that I wolde defende & make
olde age to be free of all vices/ I telle you that olde age
after nature & kynde/spekith and determyneth more than
any othir age/ And for to haue suche delectacyons, this
noble man romayn Marcus curius wolde were oute/ &
endure forth to the ende of the remenaut of his olde age
in labourages of londes after that he had receyued at ro-
me the honour & the worshipp of tryumphe for the victorye
that he had of the Samytois of the sabynoys & of Pur-
rus kyng of Epirotes/ the which the seid Curius desco-
fited by batayll/ Whan I cõsidre the village & also the gre
te labouryng in londes, of the seid marcus curiꝰ, which be
nygh vn to myn/ I may not meruail to gretly of the per-
seuerance of the seid Marcus curius/ nor of the studye &
solicitude, which he had in his tyme aboute the thyngys
pertynent to labourage & tyllyng of his londys/ It fortu-
ned oonces that the said Curius sate by his fyre, to whom
the samytois had brought a grete some of golde for to
make hym a presẽt thẽne, But Curius the worthy man
beeyng full of noble courage refused their yift so presented
to hym & sett not by them nor of their yiftes in golde, & sa-
id to the samitois, that it semid vnto hym nought, though
it were riche & right a faire syght nor it is no noble thyng
to a gouernour of a cõutree to haue a grete hepe or a quã-
tite of golde all onely, But it was right faire & a more
noble thyng to a souerayn captayn vsing were for to be
lorde of the men wythin the cõutree that haue golde & othir
riches/ Telle me Scipion & Lelius/ yf ye thenk not,

that ſith marcus curius had ſo grete & ſo noble courage in diſputyng of couetyſe & refuſyng yiftis and rewardes/ he myght wele haue but gladſonneſſe & mirth of his olde age/ Whiche is onely ioyfull/ when the olde man knowith hym ſilf to haue lyued euir wele & vertuouſly, & hath had his deſire in welthe & worſhip to lyue in delites profitable & honeſte. But I haue muche to ſpeke of the delites & pleaſirs that olde men haue/ in knowyng, vſyng & hauntyng the labourages of londes. And of this mater I ſpeke by cauſe I goo not to ferr fro myne occupacon which am a labourer & a tyller of londys in myne age. Whilom the ſenatours, that is to witt the olde romaynes, which dwelled in villages vpon their lordſhipps/ And at the tyme when Incus Quintus thene an olde man ezyed tylled & laboured in ooy of his feeldes, a meſſager was ſent to hym & denounced hym as to lete hym witt/ that the ſenatours of rome had by their electyon choſyn hym for to be dictatour/ Which was at rome the grettiſt of the offices as chief Juge of the londe to admynyſtre Juſtice to the people. And by the commaundement of this Quyntus dictatour Gayus ſeruylius thene maiſter of the knygthis at rome/ ſelfe a knyght romayne Spurius melius/ Whiche ſtode aboute knyghtys armed by cauſe that the ſeid ſpurius wolde take to hym the gouernaunce of the reame of romayns/ men callid alſo in ſemblable wiſe Curyus of whom we haue ſpokyn for to bere office of dignyte to aſſemble and come ayen to Rome with the ſenatours accompanyed/ After that tyme when he had dwellid in his village vpon the

approwbyng of his londes, & the ſergeantys that ſomoned & callid aunciey men romayns to the ſenat for to be coū-ſeillours for the comon prouffite, were namedy iourney men & ryders as meſſagers purſiualites and ſergealitys/ Therfor I remaunde you Scipion & Lelius/ if the olde age of ſuch as delited them in the labourage of londes ſeemyth vnto you to be wretched or lothſuff, I ſaye after my ſentence & auiſe, that I knowe not if any olde age may be better ne more bleſſedy/ than is this, which deliteth men in labouryng & approwmentys of landes, for thencreeyng of fruytes of londes tillyng/ whiche by his auiſe is not onely prouffytable & holeſome to all mankynde / but the labourage of londys is good & prouffitable & helthfull to his body/ by the delectacyon in exercyſyng the tyllyng of hymſelf, It recoueryth naturelle heete to warme his ſtomake & his bodye as I haue more ample before ſaide/ & alſo the labourage of landes is good/ & prouffitable for the refection prouffite & habondaunce of all thynges, that belongen to the multiplyeng of vitaill & ſuſtenalice for lyuyng to men, Thenne ſethin that olde men deſiren the delectacyons & pleaſirs which be in the labourages & tyllyng of londys, thēne be we graciouſly diſpoſedy in ſuche prouffitable werkys of delectacyon accordyng to olde age

ffor ſoth in the houſe of a good & diligēt olde lorde labourers haue ordeyned his manoirs & lordſhips to be wele approwed by plantyng fruytes tyllyng eryng, ſowyng/ & gardenyng, & in their herueſt & vindages, with their beſtis & catailles noriſſhing ſtored, as the ſeler is euir ſtored with wynes ſyders & oyles/ & the kernys with the garnets euir

ſtored of cornes and victaylles neceſſaryes to the ſuſte-
naunce and lyuyng of man/and alle the villages as
the tenauntes of the ſeid good/and dylygent auncyent
lordes be riche & ſtuffid plenteuouſly/& alſo hath grete ha-
bondaunce and plente of beefs & motous porkys for lard
and kedys lambys ſwannys partryches hennys capons &
of othir pullaile & of othir foulys of dyuers kyndes/alſo
of mylk of cheeſys & of hony by the bees in hyues in pla-
ces which the labourers of londes callen nowe their cur-
tylages. The ſeconde thought & ſolicitude of aged men
is for to ſay that the labourers wirk/that aftir the labou-
rage of the feeldes be won & ſped, Thenne that men put
to labour the curtilages of gardeyns for their herbage
of herbys of dyuers colours & of dyuers complexions &
in orchardes makyng for to plante & to ſett trees of fruy-
tes bryngyng forth/as oyles pomegarnades/orenges/fig-
gees dates / almandes/pomecedres/pechys, apples/ perys/
quynces medelers/cheſteynes/& othir ſuch fruytes of dy-
uers kyndes/thies be goodys of kynde here aboue namedy
& reherſed/which come by the ſtudye and diligent ocu-
pacyon of a good labourer in the londe/a man may name-
ly thenk/to be come more riche and more delectable by
that occupacyon/than by a beſineſſe or a werk which is
ſuperfluyous vayne and ydill/ That is to witt/by
hawkyng hollyng of hyndes and huntyng of wilde
beſtis which belongith vnto yong men. What will
ye Scipion and lelius ſaye yf I telle you of the delec-
tacõn & pleaſyre/which olde age may haue by cauſe of the
greneſſe of the medelbs or of the faire rollles in which

arn ſett the trees of dyuers kyndes and frutys I ſhall
telle you vppon that my ſentence in ſhort wordes/ Ther
is no thyng that may be more plenteuous nor more ha-
bondaunt in vſage for the prouffite to a mans lyuyng/
nor any thyng more ſemblable to naturelle beaute and
fairnes than is a cloos of frutys wele tilled and labou-
red/ Olde age lettyth not to laboure wele a cloos plan-
ted with fruytes of dyuers kyndes for their ſuſtenaunce/
But namely olde age ſterith and yeuith courage to the
olde may for to laboure wele the londe /ffor ſyth that in
wynter tyme the olde man labourer may as redely for
his helth and comfort warme hym to the ſone ſhynyng
vpon the erthe or at the fyre/ whiche is a thyng more co-
uenable to olde age/ than to any othir age/ Or ſith that
the olde man labourer may withdraw hym to the ſhado-
wes/ or for to fynde the heete, or for to fynde the colde, or
that in ſomer tyme he may refreſſhe hym with watirs or
othirwiſe more ſykyrly/ than the yong man whiche hath
his hote blode boyllyng/ I ſay that delectacyon ſterith and
yeuith courage to the olde man to laboure in the londes /
Thenne ye Scipion and Lelius may not ſaye the
contrarye/ but yong men haue for them for theyr ſolas &
worſhip/ their armoures, their horſys/ their ſperis, pollayis
mallys/ and Inſtrumentys of iren, or of leed/ and laun-
cegayes for to fyght/ And alſo maryners in vſyng
the ſee/ and yongh men deliten in ſhippys bargys of dy-
uers faſſions and in wdynges and in ſayllyng in wa-
tirs and ryuers and in the ſees, and ſom yong men vſen
the cours of voyages in gooyng rydyng and iourneyeng

from one countre to another/and emongy many othir labours of playes spertys and of dyuers solacys / The yong men also/leuyn to the vse of olde men, the playe at the tablis and chesse/and the philosophers playe by nombre of arsmetrike as is made mencion in the boke of Ouide de vetula callid the reformacion of his life. But we demaunde the Caton/if the olde men may goodly vse and when we be olde of thies two saidy playes of the tablis and chesse, I answere you nay/for without thies two playes olde age may wele be stuffid and fulfillyd of alle othir goodnes pertaynyng to felicite and to blessidnesse. Nowe it is so that olde age and yche othir age vsyng of discressyon ought not to doo any thyng / but that it drawe and be longe to vertues and to blessidnesse in stede of playes at tables and at chesses. Ye Scipion and Lelyus may rede the bookys of the philosopher xenophon, whiche be right prouffitable to many thynges And I pray you that ye wille rede them so as ye do nowe al redy/and redy diligently howe Xenophon prayseth moche to labourage of londes in a book of his namedy the book of Economike/wherin he declareth howe the man ought to gouerne kepe & apwowe his owne propre londys and goodys/And to thentent that ye vndirstonde the somme of the seid booke/whiche the philosopher Xenophon made, Knowe ye he saith/that to noble & puissant men in worship & to rialle astates/ther is nothyng so worthy nor so welbecomyng them/as is the studye and the crafte for to labourre and apwowe the londys to be plenteuouse/for the life of a labourer as it is said/is like

the life of a philosopher/in so moche as he serchith and enquereth the causes naturell Whereby the londe thorugh buzgenyng myght be fertile and plenteuouse, and also his labour is continuell and proffitable to alle creatures and so it ought to be of euery kyng and prynce and othir states of noblesse/and yit ther is no craft nor any werke so leefulle nor so honest to a kyng or to a soueraine/ as is to prouide and ordeyne the labourage of the feeldys / for namely in batail the handys of a labourer be more harder and stronger to endure / than of ony othir man/ The philosopher Socrates in one of his bokys in Whiche he spekith with the pete Tritobolus/seith that litil Cirus kyng of pers was excellent in Witt and gloriouse in erthly lordshipps. In the tyme of that kyng Cirus/a man of the cytee of lacedomone in gree callid lisander/ Whiche was a man of right grete vertue and noblenes came in an ambassade for to see the same kyng Cirus, at that tyme beeyng at sardes his cytee, to Whom Lisander brought clothes of golde & riche Jewelles from the lacedomonies and from the cytees adioynant that were of his felishipp / And Socrates saidy that this kyng Cirus was fulle benyngne and curtays to the seid Lisander to come to his noble presence/and receyuedy hym worshipfully and liberally in his rialle palais/and for his moste rialtee in suche richessis that he delitedy most in/not in tresour of golde of precious stones ne of othir grete richesse that he had grete plentee/he delited not therin/but in the richesse of tyllyng and labourages of londys and fruytes of trees of dyuers kyndes he shewedy

hym a cloos walkid all aboute diligently and commyngly labourid/tylled/planted/and sett with trees of dyuers fruytes beryng/where as Lisander meruelled hym of the length & bewte of the trees & for their right renges planted and kepyng a mesurable ordre in dymencyon/ whiche trees were sett fyue fote one from anothir/and also Lisander meruelde hym of the aleyes and walkyng places and the grounde of that cloos was so wele pared/doluyn and made clene/sett/and planted/with herbys of dyuers kyndes of swete flauours and odours excellent of beautes in leuis flouris/and colours/for the softnesse & the swetnesse of aromatique sauours came oute of the floures of dyuers kyndys/as of violettys rosemarynes maierons/gylofres/basiles lilium conuallium &c. He saidy to the kyng Cirus that he meruelid not onely ffor the diligence and studye of hym that had labourde it/But he namely meruelid of the subtilite and craft of hym whiche had compassed and ordeynedy by due mesure the settyng and plantyng of the trees of that cloos. Thene kyng Cirus answerd to Lisander/forsoth said he, I haue myself ordeynedy and mesurrdy alle thies thynges of this cloos/and also I haue compassidy and proporcioned the renges of them/and many also of theis trees that ye see here/be sett and grefftd with myne owne handys/And Socrates telleth that Lisander in lookyng vpon the gowne of purpure of kyng Cirus, and the clene beaute and goodlynes of his body/and the array whiche he bare in the maner and wise acustomed of the countree of Perse/whiche was wouid with golde

thyli/ and with manye precious stonys garnysshid and richely couchid/ and purposed in thies wordes to kyng Cirus. Forsoth saide Lisandre/ men seyen rightfully & truly that thou art riche and fortunat happye and blesshid in thy life/ for to thy vertue & nobilnes wiall is conioyned to gedir fortune and wordly felicitee/ by cause that thou employest the and occuppest to labour the feeldys to be riche and plenteuouse/ wherin is the principall parte of worldly blesshidnesse/ Sith than that of thies for tune and blesshid disposicion whiche kyng Cirus thene olde/ myght lefully vse and worke in londys tyllyng/ and that he delitid hym therin to make his reame plentefull and riche. I tell you Scipion and lelius that it is leefull to the olde agedy men of high astate as of othir meane degree/ to vse and to take delectacion in labouryng the londes/ and yit it is true that olde age lettith not, but yeuith olde men myght to mayntein contynelle and perfourme vnto thende of our age the studye and by counseyllyng the offices of dyuers craftes of all thynges to be wrought and to be won and specyally in labouryng of londys/ For forsoth I haue herdy saye by the olde historyographes/ that a noble olde man romayne callidy, Ualerius Carninus vsedy the life of a labourer vnto an C yere of his age/ and all though he were of longe & of parfyte age/ neuirtheleste he dwellidy in oppy townys and in villages and labouredy the landes Betwixt the first office geuen hym in rome and the sixt consulat of this Ualerius was yl vij yeris by reuolucyon of yeris/ and anon after that same tyme he was Jugedy to be an

olde man/And by that grete age, he was named vnable to haue publike office of rule and gouernaunce of citees and townes or for to be a capitaigne to make werre for the defence of the romayns/But which men may vndirstonde that aftir the nombre of yeris that auncien men ordeyned, which was from childhode vnto the begynnyng of olde age/men myght endure tyll that same nombre of auncien yeris to haue offices and dignitees in rome/ffor olde age leganne aftir the ordenaunce of the romaynes and not aftir the nombre of yeris, and forsoth the laste age of this valerius was more lettir and more blessid/by cause that it had more auctorite and experience in the office of labourage of approwmentys of manoirs feldes and lordships. Yf ye question holde I preue that auctorite/ by the most high thyngy that olde age myght haue his verry experience and exercise, Ye knowe it wele Inough in cõsideryng what was that olde man romayne Lucius Metellus the most grete bisshop of rome whiche by his grete auctorite and wisedome defended Poltumius consul of rome/that he shulde not goo for to make werre in aufryk/in leuyng the sacrifises in the olde lawe deputedy and acustumed of Mars gody of bataile/wherof it fortuned that the seid Poltumius in obeyng to the auctorite of Lucius metellus the bisshop left the seid entrepris of his werre makyngy though it hady be committedy to Poltumyus as consul of rome/ Ye also may knowe holde grete the auctorite had be of olde men by the same that was subduyd in the noble romayne Catilinus, whiche was the prynce and lorde of the peple

subdued and conquered as many men consenten and as it appeith by all the versis of the tytle graued and wre-
tyn vpon his toumbe, This Attilius thene was by right a man auctorised, that the fame and name of alle the romaynes consented to write vpon his tombe his ti-
tle of renomme in worshipp and in prayseng of his vic-
torious deedys/ Consider ye Scipion and Lelius of what auctorite was Publius Crallus the most grete bisshop of rome/ And after hym Marcus Lepedus whiche had the same dignyte/whiche both we haue seen of grete age. What wil ye that I telle you of thies iij noble romayns Paulus or of Affricanus or of Fabyns Maximus all iij olde men, of whom the auctorite was not onely in spekyng and in counseillyng/But they were of so grete auctorite, that it was obeyed to that whiche they wolde haue won or sped/so that they had shewed it but by sygnes and tokenes, Olde age honorable hath in it pryncypally so grete auctorite that it is of gretter power than be alle the delectacyons of yongh age.

But remembre ye Scipion and Lelyus in alle this my present boke that I preyse and magnyfye that olde age/whiche from his begynnyngh is ordeyned and arrayde by the fondementys of adolescencye whiche be in dyuers doctrynes of sciencys lernyd and in exercisyngh of honest occupacyons and craftys instruct and exercised By which I shewe you that the silf olde age is but lewde and wretchid that defendith the auctorite of it onely by wordys/and not by vertues & sciences lerned studied conquerid/and won in yongh age, as I seidy it ones in

oon of my ſentenceys/to the whiche all the philoſopheres of rome accorded/ The whyte herys and the ryuelyng chier of the body of an olde man may not wynne ſoden-ly auctorite nor worſhip/but the age paſſed/before the olde age/taketh his laſte fruytes of auctorite. That is to witt, that the vertues and the ſciences of the yongh men reſceyuen not hole worſhip nor full auctorite till olde age come on hym/that his wittys bee ſtabliſſhedh by/ffor-ſoth ther be ſeuen thyngys pertaynyngh to the worſhip of olde age/whiche ſemyth to ſom men to be light and cõmune, by cauſe that they belongen to all good olde men/whiche ben thies/The firſt is that it pertayneth that the othir yong men all be it they be grete in dignite to ſaleſſe and make reuerence in all places to the olde man/men ought deſire the felaſihp of the olde man for to lerne of hym and to haue his counſeille/Men ought in euery place to yeue roome & audyẽce to the olde man in the felaſhipps where men treten and comenyn of publike offices vpon maters for a comon prouffite or a pryue/that be ſynglez cauſes to be decyſed/Men ought to riſe ſone anone before the ol-de man and bowe them in obeyng hym/Men ought to fo-lowe and goo honorably and worſhipfully aftir the olde man fauoure and abyde hym whyn it nedith/Men ought to lede and guyde them honeſtly/and bryngh them ayen from the places that olde men haue for to tarye / Men ought to demaũde queſtion and enquere of the olde man cõſeill & aduiſe vpon chargeable maters and doubtouſe thyngys for to witt whiche be for to doo and whiche be for to leue / And all thies worſhips belongen to olde

men/ whiche he fulle dylygently kept / emonge hs womaynes/and also in other citees townes and villages after that whiche he right well founded and grounded in good condicions and the same custumes duly obserued

The hystoryes of the greekys sayne that the wise man Tilander of the kyngdome of lacedomonye in greece of whom I haue now late made nencõ/ where he was wont for to say that the cytee of lacedemone was the right honest toure or dongeon or castell of olde age, That is to witt/ In the cyte of lacedomone olde men receyued right grete worshipp and right grete auctorite in dignite, ffor in no place saue there, men made not somuche worshipp to olde age and was not more honouryd and worshiped/than it was in the seid cyte of lacedomone othir wise named sparta. And knowe ye Scipion and lelius that we remembre well that oute of the cytee of Athenys was come theder aged men of worshipp and degree for to see games and playes/ Ther was no man of all the cytezeyns sittyng and stondyng in that grete place that wolde geue place and rowme to the olde men of Athenys for to sett them to be holde and see the playes, Thenne thies olde men conseryng that noon of cytezeins had not made them no place, they withdrewe them a parte from the Teatre called the Tent and stages where as there sate in a certeyne place ordeyned some men of the cytee of Lacedomone/ whiche were come vnto Athenys as legates called Ambassiatours, and the hystoryes sayne that alle the men of lacedomone arisedeyn from their sieges and receyued the seid olde men for to sett the same olde men by

them. And aftir that they/whiche sate in the tentys had right gretly preysed and recomended the men of lacedomone, whiche had yeuen place to the seid olde men. And oon of the men of lacedomone said hearyng them that were there/ forsooth said he the men of athenys knowyn suche thynges of reuerence and honour belongyng to be doon aftir right and gentilnes/ but they will not doo it/ O ye men of lacedomone I come to speke of you for I haue knowyn that in your company and felisship/ and in your college be many thynges right noble and worthy to be tolde of and putt in remembraūce/ But the honoure and worshipp due and belongyng vnto olde age, whereof I speke nowe is founde principally in your felisship. for aftir that euery man hath more in age emongys you men of lacedomone, he is holden and take for the principalle/ and the first place to hym assigned in the assembles and in places and publike counseils, and yeuyth first the sentences vpon the causes questioned whereof men speken and come to be counseylde vpon the dygnyte/ And the reuerence and the religyon be so straytly kept emongy the men of lacedomony / that not onely the olde men be set before them whiche be in worshipp and dignite / But namely the bisshops and prestis more aged be sett before the Emperours and princys lesse aged.

Nowe may ye knowe that men of bodily delectacy / ons ought not to be compared with the rewardes of auctorite of worshyp, whiche is due and yelden to olde age and if som haue to gretly vsed of this bodily delectacōns

whereof I complayne me, It seemith me that they haue not perfourmed their age/but it oughte to be tolde for a mokt/ and for a fable, by cause that in their life dayes they haue made no prouffitable thyng vaillable to endure by them, whiche ouer muche haue vsed of thies delectacyons tom; blyn and falle in their laste age/That is to wit in olde age which is to vndirstonde/not as Jougleres mynstrels and players turnyn and tomblyn vp so downe in the last ende of their playes of maistryes for disporte makyng by the whiche they ought lightly to be excused/ But the men whiche so longe haue vsed, of delectacyon that they leue it but as a fable and a vanyte, They ought to haue no mercy nor be excused/ But some may telle me that olde men be slowe and soft/angwisshous, and heuy, angry and sorowfulle/variant and mystrustyng, and if we seke wele the condicions of olde men, we shall fynde as ye say/ that they be also nygardes and couetouse/ But I answere to you Scipion and Lelyus/that their vices whiche ye name here aboue/be the vices of the condicions of corrupt & euill custumes, and be not the vices after age/ But algates this euill slowneſſe of body & the othir vices that I haue said whiche semyn to be founde in olde age haue apparaile of some excusacyon whiche forsoth is not Juſte/ But it is suche that it seemyth that men may preue that it be reasonable, Men may yit oppose me that olde men trowyn and ymagyne to be dispraysed and mocked of yonge men/ And with that alle office and euery displeasyre be hatefulle to olde age, by cause that olde men haue their bodyes freel and sekely/ by whiche

they may ſuffre noon offenſes of diſpleaſir nor wrethfull
But I telle you Scipion & Lelius/that though old
de men weenyn to be diſpraiſed and mocked and offended
of yong men whiche thynges ary dyuers & hateſull to old
de men. Neuirtheles if they be purueid of good condici
ons and vertues & of good ſciences as they ought to be
the thyngys aforeſaidy ſhal ſeeme them ſwete and light
to bere and to ſuffre / ffor though the mynde be purueid
of good condicions and vertues and of good ſciences / it
may not be ſo harde offended nor troubled, but it appeaſeth
and ſwetith it holdyng hym content andy pleaſedy, as ſo
ne as it thenkith andy remembrith the propre goodnes
that it hath in it ſilf / But andy the olde men be not
wele drawyn foorth in connyngy andy manerly taught
and wiſe, the euil condicions herebone rehercid ſhuldy be
to them harde noyous & hateſull, & parauenture importable
& it is not merueil though ſome olde men ſuffryn & heryn
wele & ſoftly the greuaunces of olde age/ And that ſome
ary importune & wery of age, ffor we may rede and ſee like
thyng in the lyuyng & the condicons of two bretheren ge
melkys callid twynlynges, whereof the poete Terencius
made a comodye callid aelphis/ the which he rede in the
ſcene at rome/ ffor of thies two bretheren gendird of oon
ffadir in oon kely at onys norisſhed, the oon like as the
othir/ the one was hard ſharp angry vngracious & rude /
And the othir was curteys mele honeſte and debonaire.
Thay knowe ye Scipion andy lelius that ſuche is
the ordenaunce of the auſtumes of olde age, ffor as e
uery wyne longy kept andy olde wayth not eagre of

his owne propre nature/right so all mankynde is not ay-
gre fell cruell vngracious chargyng nor importune in ol-
de age of their owne kynde/though some men among ma-
ny be folde of that condicõn/ I approue & preyse in olde
age the man which hath seuerite & stidfast abydyng in
hym/seuerite is contynuance & perseueraner of oon maner
of lyuyng alwele in the thyngys within as in theym
without, But I approue nat that in an olde man be e-
gerneſſe nor hardneſſe & sharpneſſe of maners of condici-
ons/& also I may not conceyue nor vndirstonde why a-
uarice & couetyse ought to be in an olde man/for ther is
no thyng more vnreasonable nor more folyſſh/then is for
to kepe gretter quantite of worldly goodes or of vitailles
in the tyme when the man hath leſſe wey for to endure
& lyue, Nowe it is so that olde age aftir nature is
the ende of the laſte dayes of olde men/wherfor aftir rea-
son they ought leſſe put them to thought solicitude and
care for to gadre more grete kepes and plente of richeſſes
and tresours thẽne nedith /

Here endith the fourth part & the thrid distinctõn of this
boke & aftir begynneth the fyfthe part & the fourth & the
laſte distinction by the whiche Catoun confoundith and
repreuith the fourthe vituperacyon opposid ayenſt olde
age/begynnyng/Quarta restat / cet

Y cause that in the iiij distinctõn next of this boke
I haue ſufficiently answered to the thrid opposicõn/
that yong age opposith ayenſt olde age so behoueth nowe to

saye the fourthe cause answeryng to the fourth vituperacyon of olde age reprouyng, which semith pryncypally to constrayne & forthenk our olde age/and this fourth vituperacõn is by cause that yong age lothith/eschewith, & saith ayenst olde age by cause that it nygheth the deth/ which aftir cours of nature may not be fere from olde age. But ooy defaute Scipion & Lelius consider ye I praye you how the olde man is a keitif wretchid & vnhappy which that seeth not ne vnderstõdith that in olde age men ought not to reki nor sett by neithir to be afferdy of deth whethir it neyheth or cometh/ffor men ought not playnly to retche not of deth/but ought to desie it/if it quenche & bryng to nought the soule, as falsly saith & is the opinion of the philosopher Epicurus/Orels men ought namely to desire the deth if it lede & bryng our soulys in som place for to be perdurable aftir the departyng of the body/ as truly seith Aristotle prynce of philosophers and also they that folowyn hym/And it is true that betwixt thise two meanes is founden no thrid/ffor it must nedys be that the soule be dede or styntt & ende with the body, orels that aftir the deth of the body it lyuith euir, Thenne I/ that am an olde man haue no cause for to doubte the deth if I shall not be wretchid nor vnhappy, aftir the deth by cause that my soule dyeth with my body as some affermyn falsly/Orellys I haue no cause for to doubte the deth/if aftir that I shalbe blessid & ioyouse euirlastyng/by cause ỹ my soule nedith not nor is ded for euir aftir this present deth/And though ye oppose ayenst olde age that it be nygh the deth/ Telle me what man is so grete a fole/how be it

that he adolescent or yong of age that knowith of trouth & in certeyne, that he shall lyue tyl eue, and for to excuse moreouir the iiij^{th} repreef & defaute alledged/ I telle you Scipion & lelius that yong age enclyned to excesse & to outrageousnesse hath mo causes of deth/ than our olde age, ffor yongh men more lightly fallen in seknessis, they be more greuously seke/ they take helth more latter & with grette daungier/ And for this reason feth men may come to olde age/ And if the age of yongth wolde kepe the excesse & the grete outragyousnes of surfetes & wolde folow the temperaunce of olde age/ the yong men shuld lyue better & more wisely, ffor in olde men is groūded with sad purpos aduis reason & counseil/ And it is certeyn that if ther hadd neuir be noon olde men/ ther hadd neuir be no cytees townes ne villages edified nor no comynaltees of men lyuyngh, ruliid & gouernedh to the comon wele after Justice, And by cause that I haue seid shortly that yong age falliith more lightely in seknes & in parel of deth/ than doth olde age, which hath be cause of a disposicōn for to edifye cytees & townes, & Justely to make & ordeyne assemblees of men, and people to gouerne cites & townys & colitrees/ I begynne now be & torne ayen holh yong age opposith that the deth is the neyghborr of olde age/ And for to telle the trouth there is no shame nor repreef to olde age by cause that they be nygh to deth / ffor ye see that yf the deth were Juste cause of blame and of repreef / that cause shuldh be commune to the age of adolescence and also to olde age / And as ye wele knowe I hadh a right good sone named Caton as I am/ And

thou Scipion also haddist two bretheren yong men/Which aftir their euident merites shulde haue be in right grete dignite preferrid / That is to Witt consuls of rome, as many oon trustid and hoped/Which thre decessed in their yong age, Where by I haue vndirstonde and perceyued ful wel/that deth is comon to all ages / But ye may saye that the may adolescent & yong hopith that he shall lyue longe/& aftir that a man is olde he may not haue such an hope. Therfor I answere you that the yongh man hopith foliously/if by cause of his yongh age he semith to liue longh / ffor he is not certayn therof nor knowith not the trouthe, Now ther is nothyng more foly thene is for to haue & holde the doubtuose thyngys as certayn/& the fals as true /& if ye oppose ayenst olde age that the olde man hath nothyngh in hym whereby he may hope to lyue more, I answere you Scipion & Lelius that by this thyngh is lettir the condicon & the astate of the olde man than of the yongh man/ffor the yongh man Will lyue longh/& the olde man hath lyued longh/how be it that in the life of the man is nothyng longh by the ordenaunce of the goddys Which to mankynde haue sett necessite & nede for to dye / I Will Scipion in considerynge hou olde men lyuen that thou tellest me hou it is true that euery man haue some last tyme assigned/ Consider we Architonius kynge of Tarse Whiche is the prynipalle countree of cilice, This Architonius as I haue seen Writen in histoyres regned foure & thynty yere And lyued six score yeris/ But knowe ye Scipion and Lelyus that forsoth ther is no thyng that semith to me longh/sith it hath some laste ende

ffor whenne that laste ende comyth / the tyme and yeris of grete peynes and labourys/in yongth in grete auentu; res whiche before he passed is thenne eschaped and wonne alle to gedir/And than abideth onely in the remem; braunce and mynde the merite/whiche thou hast conque; rid by thy vertu and by thy good werkys doon in tyme pas sid/whiche ought make the glad whiche haste ouir scha; ped all the Jeopardyes and auenturis as wele in batayle as in dyuers and many othir weyes perylouse aswele on the see as on the lande / The houres of the tyme of our life/and the dayes/and the monethys and also the yeris passen and come neuir ayen/And also the thyng to come may not be knowen/by no man nor in what place & in what astate he be aftir the deth/Euery man ought to be content and pleasid of suche hope of tyme/as god had yeuen hym for to lyue/ And for to shewe how and why the man ought to lyue/I wolde that ye knowe that as the pete makith not onely by verrys of a fable in his comedye callid an enterlude to thentente by cause that it please to hym that pleyeth it in the game/But the pete makith onely his comedye and enterlude to thende by cause that in euery pagent he be preysed and commended of euery man aftir his playe/ And the wise man also ought not to desire to lyue/tylle that he saye/That is to witt/I will no lenger of my life/ffor a short and a litle tyme of age is long for to lyue wele and honestly/And if it fortune that thou lyue but a short and litle tyme/ thou oughtyst not to haue any more forthynkyng nor sorowe than hane the labourers of the landes/which haue

no forthenkynge nor sorowe/ by cause that the swetnesse and softnes of prymetemps callid veer and spryngynge tyme be passed/ And that the tyme of somer and of au; tompne callid herueste be comyn / ffor though the labou; rer see and smelle gladly the odoures of fresshe flowres and herbes in prymetemps neuertheles/ he is glady for the tyme of somyr in which rippy the herbys trees and fruy; tes of thethe/ And for the tyme of autompne and her; ueste in whiche he gaderith them to gedir he puttedy them in the berne and in the garnere/ Wolb ought ye to knowe that the prymetemps signifieth the age of adolescencye or of yongth whiche shewith by signes of prymetemps bourionyng and spryngyng what fruyte shall turne and do to the man in his tyme to come/ And the two othir seasons/ that is to witt somer and herueste be prouffitable and able for to repey wolbe shere and gadre the fruytes to gedir to the vse of men/ And also it is true as I haue beforesayde that the fruyte of olde age signifieth the mynde and remembraunce and the habondaunce of the goodys/ which before haue be made redy and conquerid by vertu of good werkys, and for to preue more ouir that for to dye in olde age/ is noon harm nor repreef/ I telle you Scipion and Telius that alle thynges that be made aftir nature ought not to be accomptedy nor reknenedy amonges the goodys of the man/ Wolbe it is so that there is no thyng that is so moche acordyng aftir nature as is, that alwele men as othir thynges growynge by kynde dyen in the tyme of their olde age, and yit it is cer; tayne that deth comith to yongh men and adolescentys /

Whiche is ayenst kynde & oute of nature/Where by the deth is to them moze peynefull sorowfull & harde. And by that the adolescentes & yong men as me semyth dyen like as old men/Which quencheth a strong & a right grete fflame of fyre, by castyng in of moche watir/and old men dyen as a fyre Which stynteth and wasteth it self/or as a candel/& the matche in a lampe of oyle consumith without dyng violēce & without any force & strength/I make eft sonys another cōparison of deth/Whiche comyth both to yong & olde men ffor as the apils & othir fruytes hangyng on the trees be by force pluckied in the meane tyme Whiles they be walke & nelle & when they be ripe & melowe by the hete of the sonne they fallen of with their free & playne will / & so the deth takith awey by hir violente force the life of yongy men/and the ripnesse of olde age takith awey the life of old men softely and without force/And this deth Whiche comith by ripnesse of longy age is so ioyfull and so agreable to me in so moche as I shall applye and come moze nygh to it in a conuenient season/The deth is also to me noon othir wise ioyfull or agreable/than shuld be to me the dye londe, if me thought that I shulde see it when I seyle in a ship or swymme in the see to the porte or hauyn/And that it were likly that I shuld come to the porte or hauyn aftir that I haue seyled and vyaged long vpon the see/That is to witt that deth/Which comith to the wise man aftir long age/is like the porte or hauen that men see from fere in seylyng vpon the see Whiche doth grete ioye when men be vpon the riuer in to the hauen warde and to haue takyn their porte salue/

ffor the drede of the parelles and daũgers of wikkes sandys and grete tempestys he than passidy chaungidy and turned in safete and rest/ How be it that the fyue first ages haue their ende and their terme, aftir certayne nombre of yeris, Neuertheles olde age which is the laste hath no certayne terme, And yit thou maist rightly lyue in olde age in the meane tyme/ & as long as thou maist preserue and defende the werkys of life/ and the offices in which thou art yeuen vnto/ So alwey that thou doubte not deth though thou lyue long/ whereby it fortuneth that namely olde age is more courageouse and more hard and vigorouse ageyn alle feeris and dredys, than is adolescencye which doubtith and dredith deth/ This thyng is preuid by the sentence that the right wise philosopher Solon answerd to a tirant callid Philistratus which Philistratus by violence occuppedy the lordship of Athenys, ffor where as the seid tiraunt demaundidy of Solon in what thyng he principally trustedy/ and why that he resistedy hym so boldily/ They seyen that it is true, that the seidy Solon answerdy that he trustedy in his olde age/ by the boldenes of which he despised deth/ & doubtid noon othir thyng, But I will not blame lightly them whiche desiren to lyuen/ ffor the ende of lyuyng is right good whilom that man hath hole thenkyng of vnderstondyng & hole reason and naturell witte/ certeyne and stable for to labourre in office perteynyng to life of man, Dame Nature which hath assembled and encreced in mankynde a body to werke, That is to witt/ the thynkyng and the reasons and the wittys for to do and

exercise the offices of the life, she breckyth hirself and bryngeth to nought hygh courage at the laste ende of age, when nature is consumed/ So as it is in the werkys of nature/ in like wise it is in the werkys of craftys/ ffor the werkeman whiche hath made a ship or any othir edifyce in byldyng/ the same werkeman kan breke it right lightly/ when it is olde and consumedy/ Nolle it is true that the tymbre and the matier and the bourdys nelle fastened or glued be lightly dissevered/ and tho whiche haue be glued and fastened long tyme paste/ be brokyn with grete peynes/ So thene Scipion and Lelyus may knolle that olde men ought not coueitously desire that shorte space of life, which yet abydeth with them/ and also they ought not to leue it withonte Juste and honest cause, wherby the cause to hurte hymself or shorte his life whiche by alle naturell kynde and by alle dyuyne reason is forbeden to euery man/ sith that he may not doo that, which hath noon honest occasion, And the philosopher Pytagoras whiche forbedith that withoute the cõmaundement of gody, no may departe from the bodily life/ he vseth and makith his reason by such likenesse and similytude as of a prynce of the lande whiche maketh the constable of a batayle whiche the prynce signifieth, whene he ordeyneth his souldours to abyde & stonde in some place assigned/ ffor he commaundith them that for nothyng they stere not ne remeue withoute his commaundement Pitagoras by this exsample wolde say, that withoute the commaundement of god no may shuld purchace his deth/ And if thou oppose and seyest ayenst that whiche

J haue ſaid/That is to Witt that the olde man ought not to deſire to lyue the remenaunt of his tyme/ ffor as thou ſaiſt/the philoſopher Solon than olde/ by expreſſe Wordys ordeyned that his frendys ſhuld make ſorowfe lee; pyngys and lamentacyons aftir his deth, J telle the Sapion that the Wiſe Solon Wolde be lamented and demeaned of his frendys by cauſe that they ſhuld ſhewe that he had loued them/and that they were euir in his lo: ue/ But J Wote neuir Caton yf the poete Ennyus Wolde be holden more dere and ſorowfull of his frendys by cauſe that aftir his deth he Wold not be bywailled nor la: mented/ffor by his Verſes he ſeid/that aftir his deth noon of his frendys ſhuldy not deſire hym ayen in Wepyng/& that in his ſeruice of exequyes funerall noon ſhuld Wepe for hym/ J anſWere the Sapion that Ennyus vn; dirſtode hoely that men ſhuldy not Wepe for the deth of hym/nor of any othir that becomith vndedely and immor: talle/aftir this preſent deth Which comith to them Whyche haue lyued all their life aftir alle vertues/ Thou tel: liſt me ayen Sapion/that olde men felyn in them ſome drede of the deth/Which drede laſtith by a litle While ſpeci ally in the olde man Whiche dyeth ſoone and ſoftly With litle payne, Therfor J telle the Sapion that the feel lyng and vndirſtondyng of that dredefulneſſe is ſuche that it ought to be deſiredy ffor aftir deth it is nought, And by cauſe that the ſoule departed With the body the Whiche J mene not othir Wiſe/but What thyng euir it be of the feelyng of the drede of deth/We ought to haue ſta: ble thenkyng from our adoleſcence/for to lyue in ſuche

wise and so wele that we may despise deth withouten ha-
uyng of it any drede or grudchyng/ without this thyn-
kyng no man may lyue in peasible courage/ for euir/ the
drede of deth fleeth before the eyen of the thought/ I tell
you forsoth / that it must nedys be certeyne that no olde
man may dye yong/ And it is vncertayne a thyng to
knowe if that a man shall dye in this present day/ Ther
is no man thenne whiche may lyue in suertee of courage
of a myghty herte, if he doubte the deth whiche may come
and stele vpon hym at all houres of the day or he be ware/

It is no nede that I dispute long with you of deth,
for to shewe you that men ought not to doubte it, ffor
if I bryng to mynde the wise and the couragiouse men
of alle astates and aged men/ whiche doubted not to suf-
fre deth for Juste and honeste thynges, I may tell you
therof many ensamples though it nede not/ ye knowe by
historyes/ how after that Tarquyne the prowde kyng of
rome was banysshed, and dryuen away and depryued of
the royame for the foule mysdede that the sone of the seid
Tarquyue did/ in defoulyng by violence the right chas-
te lady of grete worshyp and renomme Lucrelle wif of
the noble Collatyn Citezeyn of Rome/ The duke Tar-
quyn had a sone callid Arnus which by armes enforced
hym to recouir the seid reame and to take awey the liber-
tee and freedome of the people, and to bryng it ageyne in
seruage, But Lucyus Brutus thene consul of to-
me as he whiche doubted not deth and whiche for the co-
mon welfare of the cyte and for the freedom of rome to be
had he wolde of playne and full wille lese this present life/

keeyng with the hooſt and batayle of the romaynes ligh=
ted vpon his hors and leyde his ſpere in the arreſt and
ſparrid his hors ayenſt the ſeid Appius thorugh his hoo=
ſte betweene two batailles & in ſuche wiſe encountred & coped
the one with the othir / that both two were wouñded and
hurted with dedly woundys fille dede vpon the erthe, and
ſo by the courageous hert and manhode to ouircome that
grete ennemye to Rome by the voluntary deth of the ſeid
chiualleous noble Brutus / remayned ſtille and abode
to the people of Rome their right precious treſour, That
is to witte their fredome and their franchiſes which were
before tyme appoyned vnto them, ffor to ſhewe alſo that
men oughte not to drede deth / it nedith not that I telle the
hiſtorye of this noble romayne Publyus Decyus / nor
of his ſone in like wiſe named Studecyus amongys
them of his kynrede / he was the firſt whiche had the dig=
nyte of conſulat at Rome / and holde he beyng conſul was
onys in batayle with the Romaynes. And he ſawe that
his hooſt was nygh all putt downe / or ſhuld haue ben deſ=
troyed and ouircome / he of his playne will & grete man=
hode ordeyned in his courage and in his thought that he
ſhulde yeue and abandone his bodye / for the ſaluacyon
of the comon proffite of Rome. Thenne he mounteyng
vpon his courſer and his ſpere in his arreſte ſpurrid his
hors, whiche bare hym ſwyftly in to the myddys of the
hooſt of his ennemyes. That noble and worthy Decyus
whiche wolde the helth and welfare of his countree and
the deth of hym ſelf to take / before his deth made grete
occiſion vpon his ennemyes of Rome / And afti= that

by spares wounded fille dede to the erthe / and so through his entrepice and courage / by the blood that Decyus shedd it fortuned to the hooste of the Romaynes the victorye ayenst their trust and hope was had, ffor when they sawh their worthy prynce and consul and chief of the felde dede / by his owne high courage and free will and for the saluacyon of all his feliship and countree, The seid Romaynes tokke so grete courage ayenst their ennemyes, And ensured themsilf to liue or deye in mortall batailke / with their prynce and the felde, wherof they had the victorye / The sone of the seid Publius beyng four tymes consul of rome had so grete & so myghty courage & thought as his ffader in folowyng his nobles in armes and chiualrye, ffor his seid sone Publius of his playne and free will of a myghty courage in mareyal causis auaunsyng hymsilf vpon his ennemyes in bataile in defendyng the noble romaynes he abandoned his body and his owen propre life for the saluacyon of the comon pronffite of the romaynes / And this is a noble ensample, that so ought suche chiualerouse knyghtys put them in auenture for their prynce and for the defence and saufgarde of a reame or countree beeyng in seruage. ffor to shewe also that men ought not to doubte the deth nor drede to departe oute of this present life / It is no nede that I telle you of one of the moost noble prynces of good remembraunce Marcus Attilius first a labourer of the londes and after elected consul and connestable of the batails of rome, whiche by many a tyme outrarme and had the vpirhande and victorye of the men of cartage mortall ennemyes to

the Romaynes, and atte laste the noble prynce by chal-
gyng of fortune was takyn prisoner in to Cartage/And
for the delyuerance of the same Marcus Attilyus oute
of prisone, thenne an olde man/the lordys and gouer-
nors by cause they vndirstode his grete manhode as a
victoriouse prynce ayenst them/and holy he was worthy
in renomme & to be worshippid for his manhode/and holy
also he was of so grete age/that he aftir tho dayes shuld
be of easy power of bodily strength to make any more
werre ayenst Cartage/treted hym & desired/that he shuld
for his deliueraūce oute of prison/make to be redemed/de-
lyuerd and recouerd many of their yong lordes knyght-
tys and Gentils of Cartage takyn prisoners before ty-
me amongys the Romaynes, And in trust thewof the
seidy Marcus Attilius was fraunchysedy oute of their
Captiuite & so relessed vpon his faith promysedy that he
shulde retourne/he at a certayne day to come ayen to pri-
son in to cartage in case that he coude not procure & prouide
for the delyueralice of the seid yong men lordys knyght-
tis and gentils of Cartage so prisoners thēne in rome,
Attilius willyng to despise the deth & for an honest cau-
se of an vnyuersale wele of his cōtreye/wolde spende both
his bodye & his life/consyderyng that the comon prouffite
of rome myght be hynderdy & damaged gretly, if for that
his deliueralice oute of prison shuld cause the seid yong
knyghtys of cartage were yolden & deliuerd ageyne home
to their cōtree/cōseilkid & willid ayenst hym self to his
destruction & seide to the senatours of rome & also to his
& wife childreen that he wolde yelde hym self raithir ayen

to pryſon to Cartage, though he myght othirwiſe [he re]leſſed/ and alſo wolde acquyte hym Juſtely of his othe and promyſe to his maiſter captaigne made, And though he knewe the outragiouſe cruelte and grete dureſſe of enpriſonement of the men of Cartage thene his ennemyes whiche when he retourned freely in to priſon conſtreyned hym by grete dureſſe and peyne turmented hym in a pype/ feſtned and ſtikked fulle of naillis wolld hym and kutte the ledys of his eyen that he myght not ſlepe, and othir paynes for to dye by ſo long & cruel turment and payne that it is not poſſible to reherſe it without wepyng terys/ There is no nede alſo to reherſe how that Scipion Affrycan & Scipion Alian two brethern righte noble and glorioiuſe champions, for the comon prouffite employed & occupied alle their ſtrengthis & their bodyes / & in dyuers batailles auenturid them ayenſt them of auffryk / ffor after the deth and diſcomfityng of the grete Pompee/ Scipion othirwiſe callid Affrican ſucceedid in office after the ſeid Pompee and was in one of the batailes of Rome that diſcomfited by armes the men of auffryk/ after Cartage deſtroyed by the grete Scipion And brought them to the lordſhip of Rome, But where as by chaungyng of fortune Scipion hoped no refuge ne ſocour, he departyd from auffryk for to come in to ſpayne by naupe of ſhippis with ſom Captaignes of Rome after many turmentys in the ſee, he and his naupe by ſodeyn tempeſtys of wyndes, were dryuen and came ayen in to the countree of Affryk / And there he was beſegyd by Publyus Scipyus knyght of

Julius Cesar which thene allone occupied the lordship of Rome/Scipion thenne wolde rathir deye in the estate of his freedome and libertee and for to escape the seruitude of Cesar as he that charged not in settyng no pryce of his deth killed/hym self with his owne propre hande/Alle be it that he myght escape lightly ynowgh that myssfortune, ffor Cesar wolde haue ben to hym full gracious & debonaire ynowgh/& aftir that his right noble brothir Scipion Alianus/which by batayle subduedy and putt downe the countrees andy the kynges andy the people of the partyes of asie, he made fulle riche encreacyng andy multeplyeng the comon Tresour of Rome/ as he which hath many Tryumphes and victoryes and which conquedy many kynges andy pryncis by victorie in batailes' Andy aftir that he retournedy ayen to Rome where he was vniustely accused by the excitacion and exhortyng of kyng Anchiochus/ which by fals accusacions & conspiracyes made hym to be vniustely accusedy andy sklaundred/and surmyttedy vpon hym forged matters/how that he hady takyn to his owne singuler auaile andy prouffite andy withholdyn to hym self grete nombre and quantite of money and Tresour which shulde haue be putt in to the comon tresour/wherupon the seidy Scipion was takyn andy bounde with yrons & was putt in derck prison wherin he endedy his dayes without any vnpacience, I reherse not also onely of thy Graūtfire Lucius paulus consul romayne/which drededy not the deth/but wolde leue his bodily life of his owne good will ffor where as Hanybal duke of Cartage Enemy

to ourre cytee of Rome hady assembledy his hooste in a towne of poyle callidy Cannes/And for to resiste hym and withstande/had there comyng the seidy Paulus thy Graunt syre and anothir consul his felowe with alle thy strengthe of Rome/three hundred noble yong knyghtys romaynes with a parte of the hoost without the counseile & cõsentyng of the seid Paulus assembledy to gedir & ioyned in batail/In thy which that parte of the seid hoost & the consul and the seidy three hundredy knyghtys were ouirthrowe & diedy shamefully/That is to witt by defaute of good ordenaūce and oute of array keyng/they loste the victorye & were disconfited And where thy seid grauntsire Paulus sawh his felowe and his hoost so ouirthrowe discomfited & kylled/he with the remnant of his hooste auaunced hym in to the batail without any hope or victorye/but onely to thentente that he wolde venge the outragiouse discomfiture and ouirthrowe of his felowe consul/which foliously vndirtoke the dede of entreprise/in semblable wise was by mortel fate ouirthrowe and slayne emongys his Ennemyes/ It is no nede that I telle how Marcus Marcellus consul Romayne despisedy not his deth in playne batail as a chiualrouse knyght/ ffor without any grete auis/ he with an egre hert desyryng to resiste ayenst the affricans and the men of Affrike, was chosen and requyredy for to fyght with Hanyballe chief prynce of Cartage in the feelde/ wherin ourre souldiers Romayns assembledy gladly and right wele cheredy and stable in their noble courage, And yit they thought wele ynough

that Without comyng ayen of the ſeid Marcellus her chyueteyne they ſhuld dye / as it happith them ſo to doo / ffor the ſeid Marcellus Wolde not ſpare his life for the Worſhip of Rome, auaunced hym ſelf ayenſt Hanybal and Was ſlayne in playne feelde in the firſt batayle or he myght releue & ſocoure his hoſt/ And they all With marcellus conſul & chief cheueteyne of that batayle dyed in the felde in the defence of the Romaynes fulle nobly Worſhipfully to their grete renomme / after Whiche their ennemyes of Cartage made grete ſorow of their deth for their grete manhode they dyd them grete reuerence at their beryenges/ As I haue ſaide in my boke of the birth of the noble ytalyens, The Whiche Marcellus ſo conſul lyeng deed in the feelde With his knyghtys/ the ſeid Hanibal moſt cruel enemy of the Romaynes, made hym to be brought to erthe With grete Worſhip of ſepulture/ ffor hanybal after his owne propre nobleſſe, cõſideryng the Vertu of the ſeid Marcellus & couragiouſe hert bare hym ſo vigorouſly as a lyon in batayle Whiche in no Wiſe doubted the deth in expoſyng and auaunceyng his body & his life for the publike & comon prouffite & ſaluacõn in defendyng the Romaynes/ he did couer the body of the ſeid Marcellus With a palle of riche cloth of golde, after their rightes cuſtume and vſage of martialle men of auffrike, & yaſe hym a corõne of laurer, & after brent hym in a ſolempne fyre after the maner of olde auncyen men of Worſhip to be preſerued & kepte amongys the noble men of Worſhip/ What Scipion & Telyus Will ye that I telle you ſith the yong & adoleſcent men/ And not onely they

that he introduced and enfourmed in sciences & vertue/ kyuyng after the condicion of a philosopher/but namely the foolys & ydiotes lothen not nor doubten the deth as ye haue herdy me andy declare in the precedent exsamples/ Thenk ye thene/that the wise olde men ought not to be afferde by cause they be nygh the tyme of their deth And he that is full & replete of all the studyes & werkys pertenyent to euery age, he is replete and very of the tyme of this life, so that he doubte not in no wise the deth as it seemyth me rightfully & as I preue it by my self / Andy note ye for a good aduertisement to euery man for to bere in remembraunce andy for his prouffite / That certayne thyngys be wherin puerice callidy childhode/ Which is the seconde age puttith his studye andy his entendyng in thynges accordyng to his agrement, And the adolescente men whiche be vndir the thrid age desyren in no wise the thynges and the besynes/wherin puerice studyeth andy occupyeth/ Andy certeyne thynges be wherin the men studyen & occupyen them in begynnyng of their adolesceneye, Also certayne thynges be, in whiche yongy age/whiche is the fourth & the mene age/puttith not his studye & besynesse in his precedent ages/though the man had employedy & occupied hym in the othir first ages which be smaller and of lesse degree, Yong age is callid the age stable & meane/by cause that it holdith the meane betwixt adolescence & olde age Andy cesseth than the man for to do light thynges and folyes, And as thene or neuir the man is stable & hole in body in witt & vndirstoding, The thynges andy the werkys in whiche yongy men studyen

And occupye them / been ſuche / that olde men wil neuir of it / But namely olde age hath delectacyon in ſome thynges in his laſte dayes wherin he ſtudyeth and em-ployeth his wittys / Holde it thenne that the ſtudy-es and the werkys of the fyue firſt ages dyen and ſeace in ſome tyme and ſeaſons / they in ſuche wiſe ſeacen and dyen in the leſyneſſe ſtudyes and the werkys of olde age whiche when they lacken in the man / than he whiche is ſiik and wery for to lyue in this worlde / cometh to that tyme whiche is ripe and couenable for to dye / fforſoth I ſee nothyng but I dare telle you that which I fele and perceyue of the deth / ffor me ſeemyth that I may better ſee & feele the nature & the propete of deth / by aſmuch as I which am an olde man am leſſe fere from it, fforſoth Scipion & Lelius I deme & thynke in my courage that in the high heuyn leuyn youre two ffadirs / which haue be right ſfully named & noble in worſhip, and my right dere frendys, alſo I deme in my thoaght that your two ffadirs lyuen of oon life, as of oon good diſpoſicion / which one-ly & noon othir oght to be callid a life / ffor whiles we be encloſed within thies ioyntes of our materiel body / we vſe of an office conteynyng neceſſite for to dye / And al ſo we vſe of a graceouſe werkie and heuy by cauſe that the body drabeth to the deth warde, But within vs / is a celeſtial ſoule and dyuyne fourmedy / whiche from the mooſt high paleis is come downe to be Joyned and kinytt with mankynde bodily / and if it had be conuerted and hidde within the erthe oute of his naturelle place appro-ued / The place wherin the celeſtial ſoule remayneth to

quykyn the body for a ſeaſon/is contrarye to the dyuyne nature of the ſoule Whiche is reſemleked and likend to the Trynyte/ffor the ſoule is celeſtial and deſcendeth from an high place/And the body is erthly lolle and puiſſaūt The ſoule is vndedly and the body is dedly/ But I beleue that the vndedly goodys haue ſpred and ſolken the ſoules Within the bodyes of mankynde to thentente / that the men ſhulde ſee and inhabite the countrees/And by cauſe alſo that the men conſyderyng the ordenaunces of the celeſtial thyngs ſhulde ſololle that ordenaunce by maner of ſtableneſſe of life / That is to Witt that god Whiche is vndedly hath pntt and putteth the vndedly ſoules Within the bodyes of the dedly men to thentente that they perceyue and inhabyte Within this lolle Worldy to ſuche an ende that they conſydere the ordenaunce of he: uen/and that they may lyue aftir ſtable life/celeſtiall & perdurable With god And knolle ye Sapion and Lelyus that my reaſon nor my dyſputacyon/Which I ha: ue made vpon this mater / conſtreyned me neuir that I ſhulde beleue that the ſoules of men ſhuld be mortal & de: dly/as to deye With the bodye/But namely thordenaūce & thauctorite of the ſouerayne philoſopheres hath conſtreyned me to beleue that When I herd diſputacōns amongys the Wiſe philoſophers of the ſtudye of Rome/redyng the doc: trines of the Worthy philoſopher Pytagoras & the oppyny: ons of them that ſololleth hym Which the mooſt parte of them/they haue be by olde tymes paſſid callid latyns phi: loſopheres/Thy determyned for trouth that We haue the ſou: les ſpred & ſolken Within oure bodyes/the Which Were not

gendred ſimplye by nature/but that they were of a godly and a dyuyne ſubſtaunce ſuche as god ordeyned it in his thought/wherby is the figure & the mirrour of all thynges both godly and manly, accordyng with the doctryne of Pytagoras and with thoppinions of his diſciples/Mey did enſourme and teche me the doctryne, and that the philoſophre ſocrates in the laſte day of his life had con; cluded and affermed/And they ſpeken of the Inmorta; lite & vndedlynes of the ſoules/This Socrates why; lom maiſter of the philoſophre Platon / was holden the moſt wiſe of all the other philoſophers as it appered & was ſhewed by the anſwere of the god apollo to whom mey de; maūded/which was the mooſte wiſe of the auncyen philo; ſophers / Socrates ſaidy/he ought to haue the prynapal honoure and renomme emong all the wiſe mey of the ci; te of Athenys, Jt nedith not alſo that J ſpeke euir of the vndedlyneſſe of the ſoules / but J holde truſtely that the ſoules of mey be vndedly ffor ſith the lightnes of the ſoules is ſo grete that they be euir meuyng/ſith the mynde of thynges paſſed is ſo grete & parfite in the ſoules that mey remembryn of tho thynges whiche be paſſid like as that they were preſente And ſith the dyuyne pro; uidence of thynges for to come is ſo grete and feruēnt in the ſoules, that the man counſeillith hym pourueieth hym and auiſeth hym of ſome thyng meritable and pro; fittable and alſo comfortable to come, And ſith that in the ſoules ben ſo many connynges craftes and ſubtile conceytes for to make aftir right naturelle rea; ſon: the werkys connyngys and craftes, wherin the

men workyn & occupyen them comonly to lyue by And
where as in the soules be so grete sciences and wittys both
godly and manly and so many newe conceytes and dy-
uers thynges founde without any exsample or patron.

I saye after my witt and feelyng that the soule which
naturelly conteyneth the thynges that I haue here aboue
saide, may not be dedly / I shewe you & preue othir wise
that the soule is vndedly. ffor sith the soule euir hath in
hit dyuers meuyngys, by cause that one tyme it coueiteth
the delectable thynges/ as is science/craft/prudence/sapi-
ence, wisedome/witt/vndirstondyng and othir good spiri-
tuel vertues and suche thynges whiche seme to be goody.

And anothir tyme the soule hath meuyng of contrary
passions as in waxyng wroth/thoughtfull heuy, dredefulle
noyouse seliely/ffor displesant thyngis, which be or semen
to be euill, and hynderyng to the bodye It must nedys
conclude, that it be perpetuell and euirlastyng. I preue
you also, that the soule is vndedly, ffor it hath nothyng
that steith it for to doo that whiche it dooth, ffor the
soule meuith and steith it self, and the soule shall neuir
haue the ende of his meuyng, ffor the soule may neuir le-
ue it self/ffor it wolde euir be for to doo some office perte-
nyng to his kynde and to his nature And by anothir
reason I preue that the soule is perdurable and euirlas-
tyng/ffor the naturell substaunce of the soule is symple
and is not composed nor commixted of partyes of dyuers
natures/ And also ther is nothyng in the soule, which
is medled with vnlike to his naturelle substaunce, where-
by it must nedys be saide, that the soule may not be dyuided

in dyuers partys/ And if it so be men must nedys conclude that it may not dye/ And more ouir to preue that the soule be perdurable / ye haue a grete argument and good approbacyon by cause that the men knowyn many & dyuers thynges or they be in puericie/ ffor as ye knowe men in the age of puericie/ when they lerne and studyen in the speculatyf sciencys and craftys of the practike and of subtyle and dyuyne conceytes vsyng after the craft called experience/ which be full harde daungerouse and subtile to come vnto/ they withholden and conceyuen so hasterly and so soon dyuers conceytes & many oppynyons arguen that it seemyth not onely that they lernyn them nedly and soon, but it seemyth that eftsonys they haue therof mynde and remembraunce as if they had knowyn them before And knowe ye that the philosopher Platon is the auctor whiche spake of the soule so as I haue here said/ After that I haue shewed you by argumentys and reasons that the soules be not dedly, I now wyll by ensample and by auctorite shewe that the soules ary perpetuel and euerlastyng, The philosopher Xenophon witnesseth in a boke of his called Economus that the grete Cyrus kyng of perse/ the day that he dyed said to his childeren the wordys that folowyn/ My right dere childeren said the kyng/ thenk ye not but that I euir am in some place/ & also but that I be some thyng beyng after that I shalle be departed from youre feliship, ffor when I was with you/ ye myght not see my soule by which I am vndedly, but ye shall perceyue wele ynough / that in my body was my soule conioyned by the seuen werkys

Whiche I exercised in my lyfe / ffor my body was by the meane of my soule. I hadd free wille/ and not wille for to doo or not to doo, all possible thynges / I had right demyng of thynges true and false. I had feelyng of the qualitees of the thynges, I respired by brethyng receyuyng in and owte by the conduytys of my body. I knewe and discerned the thynges by their propre causes.

I had mynde and remembraunce of thynges before passed/ Aftir thies seuen werkys the soule is named by seuen names, That is to witt/ Soule, Corage/ Reason ffeelyng, Thought/ Mynde/ & Spirite/ Ye ought thene to beleue/ that aftir my departyng/ the soule of me is such as it is nowe/ though ye see that my body be brought to nought / Yit by cause the worshipps the dignytees and the good werkys of noble & famouse men shold not be extincte and not remembrid / Honour shuldy be shewed & doon vnto them whiche passyn oute of this worlde / aftir their deth, But their soules shuldy doo so muche / that we shuld haue of their goodnes lawde and prayseyng moyre & mynde lenger than the tyme of their life Knowe ye seidy also the kyng Cirus that neuir man coude make me to consente nor to graūte that the soules shuld lyue whiles they be within the dedly bodyes/ nor that they shuld dye aftir that they be disseuerd and departedy from the bodyes, And also say I, that neuir man coude make me to graunt nor to consent/ but the soule be wise and nobly endowed aftir that it is disseuerd from the body folissh and foule, But I consent and graunte that the soule begynneth to be wise aftir that it is disseuerdy and clene

and hole of alle the medelyng of the body, Whiche is me-
dledy and commixtedy of foure elementys / Whiche arn
emongys themsilf contrary / And sith the naturelle body
of the man / Whiche is the mooste noble of the thynges
cometh ayen to nought by the deth, It is clere and notoire
in What place alle the othir thyngys goen, ffor the thyn-
gys of this Worlde goon ayen to that from Whens they
came / The soule of man sheWith not nor appereth not,
nor it may not be seen / Neithir When it is conioyned With
the body nor When it is dissevered from hit / Ye see al
so said kyng Cirus, that ther is nothyng so like the deth
as is the slepe / And certayne it is that the soules of
them Whiche slepyn sheWen and declare the dyuynyte and
godlynesse of the soule, ffor many men slepyng, per-
ceyuen & knoWyn by their slepe / thynges for to come / So
that the men be delyuerd & franchised, of erthly thoughtys
Whereby men ought to vndirstode What shal be our soules
When they be clene releSSedy of the bondes of erthly bodyes

ffor the soules Without comparyson shalle vse more
playnely of their dyuynyte and godlynesse aftir that
they be oute of the pryson and of the bondys of the bodye

Wherfor if thies thynges be treWe, that is to Witt /
that my soule is vndedly and immortal as I haue saidy,
I Wille ye my right dere childeren that ye Worshipp me in
god / But if it so be that my soule shulde dye With my
body to gedir neuirthles / Be Whiche here reuerence to the
goddys / Whiche defendyn and goueme alle the beaute
and fairnesse that is in the felisship of the body and of the
soule, I Will that alle regiously and Withoutyn tretyng

ye kepe the mynde of me specyally, by wele sayng and by wele doyng as I haue doon whiles I lyued This grete Cirus kyng of perse saidy atte thies wordys to his right dere childeren at the houre that he dyed But and it please you Scipion and Lelius See we what be our opinions in the maner of the immortalite and vndedlynes of mans soule/And kno we ye Scipion that ther is no man that makith me to consente nor to accorde that thy fadre Paulus with thy two Grauntfirs Polus and Scipion thaffrikan / or the fadre of the vncle of the seid affrycan or many othir worthy and noble men womaynes, whiche it nedith not to name nor to telle/wolde haue enforcedy them / for to doo the grete dedys of vertues & of worthynesses for to haue of it the mynde name & fame amongys the men, that aftir them shal come / But they hady auisedy and kinolbyn in their courage that tho that by succession of lygne shulle come aftir them shuld haue in their courage suche vertues and good dedys that aftir their deth the remembraunce of it shulde endure,

Thenkist thou than Scipion that I hady vndirtakey and susteyned so grete labours both by nyght and by day al the tyme of my life / aswele as for the gouernement of our cytee of rome/as of myne owne propre housholde / and also in actys and dedys of armys / if I had thought that by like semblable termes I shulde ende with the life of my body The glorye, the laude and preysing & the name of the renomme & fame that I may haue deserued & cõquered by my labours afore said / I spekе thus Scipion with the to thentente that I haue a singuler

Joye & deserue lawde after the maner of olde men/Whiche
in tellyng and geuyng enformacion of their good de-
dys, glorifye them and prayse/And by that they geue
courage as an euident ensample to yong men for to do
like semblable good dedys/if I oughte thenne oon tyme
ende my life / & the mynde of my worshipfull actes and
dedys of renomme/and if it so were that my soule shuld
dye with my body/it had be better to me/that I had lyued
idylly and in reste than to labour, and without ca-
taile malyng/But that I hadde seen and thought cer-
taynly in my courage that tho whiche by succession of
lygnee shulde come after me, wolde haue in their courage
my labours and my good dedys putt in remembraunce/
And that after my deth, the glorye and renomme of it
shulde abide to the men whiche be for to come and the re-
ward to be yoven by the soureyns of dyuyne gouernau-
ce to the vndedly goddys/ But yit ye Scipion and
Telyus may seye to me/how mankynde rising and lif-
tyng vp to gete glorye, euir lokith before hym for to de-
serue remembraunce vnto them whiche after hym shal
come/Therfor I answere you that it is said to thentente
that whey the soule shall light & departe from this pre-
sent life / it may fynally lyue by euirlastyng life in eternalle
Joye & glorye/And but it were so that the soules shuld
lyue by perdurable glorye and ioye euirlastyng after this
present life, the courage of euery right good man wolde
not enforce them so gretly to gete the ioye that shold en-
dure but for a season/ I aske you Scipion and Teli-
us what ye thenke of thies two dyuers thynges/That is

to Witt/ euery may like Wise and vertuous dieth in right
pacient courage and gladnes and euery may that is of
folysſh and vicious disposicion / dieth in courage right
vnpacyent and dredefull/ Thenk ye so/ but the courage of
the holy man and goody, Whiche considerith and perce-
ueth more/ and more ferre/ seeth right Wele/ and knoWith
that the soule goeth in to a better place/ and Where it shal
be better than it Was in this present life/ and therfor the
Wise good man dieth in right good pacient courage/ and
glad to departe/ But the folisſhe & delicious man, Whiche
for his ignorannce and by the Weyght of his vicys hath
the light and clernesſe feble and inclyned/ so that he may
not see nor knoWe that his soule goeth in no bettyr place/
nor for to be better than it Was in this present life/ And
forsoth by cause that I am an olde man and nygh my
deth/ and also I thenk that my soule is immortelle/ I am
right ioyfulle/ for to desire/ Whiche I haue for to see youre
ffadirs there decessidy, With Whom I haue be conuersaunt
hauntedy and also I specially loued them for their grete
vertues Whiles they here in this present Worlde Were ly-
uyng And I haue not desire to see onely the men pas-
sed oute of this life/ Whiche I knoWe by sight and by con-
uersacyon/ But namely I haue desire for to see aftir my
deth them/ of Whom I haue herde speke/ & them of Whom I
haue rede by histories & them of Whom I haue Wreten amō
gys them Whom I vndirstonde that they be made immor-
telle by their precedent meritys / ffor soth ther is no man
that lightly shuld holde me to the loue of this Wordly
life / sith that I am in the Wey for to goo With them

Whiche le made immortalle / And also ther is no man that lightly shuld make me tourne ayen from the weye by the whiche men passyn oute of this present life / How be it that some fonnedy and folisshe olde men desiren it ayen / I wolde that men wolde dryue them and re; tourne them ayen in to yongy age as men retournen a balle from ony merk to another / ¶ And if some god wolde yeue me puissaunce that I whiche am an olde man / myght retourne ayen in to childhode / and that I shulde braye and krye in my swathyngy cloth and in my cradelle like a childe / I wolde it not / but I wolde euen refuse it / ¶ If ye demaunde me what / and how grete prouffite and auaile is / to le in this life I answere you / that ther is more labourr than prouffite But for to saye the trowthe / this life conteyneth both that one and that other / That is to witt / prouffite and labourr / And neuertheles this presente life conteyneth another fulfillyngy or mesurr / And olde men haue their fulle certeynte of this life / ffor the men of the other fyue ages / haue termr and mesurr of certeyne nombre of yeeris / ffor childhode conteyneth seuen yeris And so of the other four folowyng / ¶ fforsoth it liketh me not to wepe or sorowe in any wyse / by cause that my life is not lengr / And certeyne it is / that many men as fooles haue wepidy and mournedy / ffor this same cause / ¶ And also I repente me not of that / that I haue lyuedy tille the tyme of olde age / ffor I haue so parfytely lyuedy / that I trowe not that I haue le in the worlde for nowght / nor in payne / I departe me from

this presente life / as a walkynge beyfarynge man or as a voyagieng pilgryme departith from some lodgyng place or any hostellrye / for to come to his owne dwellyng house / ¶ But I departe me not from this life as the lorde departeth from his owne house / ffor this passable life is nowght ellys but as a lodgyng place or an hos= tellrye / But the life to come is the stablement and the propre house of myne vndedly soule / ffor nature mo= dir of alle thynges hath youen to vs men lodgynge for to dwelle to gedyr / But she hath not grauyn to vs no hous euir to inhabite / ¶ Thenke ye Scipion and Telyus how noble be that dyuyne counceille and that noble assamble wherin onely shal be the soules of dede men/ To the whiche Counceille I Caton shall goo asso= ne as I shalle departe from this troublous lyfe and from this filthe/ ffor soth I shall goo to the dyuyne coun= ceille/ not onely of the men of whom I haue before spo= kyn / but namely at the departyng from this life/ I shall goo with the yongy Caton my sone / whiche was so goody a man that his fettir was neuir borne of modyr / nor more excellent in pytye nor in religion / ¶ I haue brent and beryedy the body of my Sone Caton how be it that othir wise shulde hadde be aftir cours of nature That is to witt/ that my body olde & auncyent owght to haue be brent and beryed by my sone, ¶ The soule of my sone Caton left me not/ but his soule whiche lokyd & be= heldy that I shulde come to hym is turnedy and with drawen in certeyne placys of heuyn in the whiche it is

auisedy as J hope that J shulde come to, aftir myne olde age, ¶ And treWe it is Scipion and Lely; us that it hath seemyd you that J didy here and suffre With goody and strongy courage the dth of yongy Caton my sone / ¶ But forsooth J didy not here it nor suffre it not by so strongy / nor by so paient a courage / But J hady therof soroWe and troWble / But J conforted me thenkyng in my Courage that betWixt Vs tWo, shuldy not be so longy space of places aftir this present life, ¶ Ye Scipion and Lelius saye at the begynnyng of this boke, that ye Were Woont to Woonder and merueile hou myne olde age myght be to me softe easye and Wete in thies tWo thynges, Whiche seemyn sharp and byttir for to suffre / That is to Witt, myne olde age and the hasty dth of my goody sone Caton. ¶ And J haue tolde you that myne olde age is to me both Wete and light / And it is not onely muche chargyng / but it is Joyouse and glady to me / by cause that J thenk and deme for certayne that the soule neuir dieth / ¶ But if it be in errour and oute of trouthe aftir the doctryne and scole of Epycures / by cause that J beleue that the soules be vndedly and Jnmortelle perdurable and euirlastyng,

J anSWere you that this errour pleasith me/ and J consente me in it right gladly, and as longy tyme as J lyue J Wille not that any philosopher / nor ony othir of What condicyon that euir he be, take aWey fro me this errour / Wherin J delyte me / ffor if aftir

this presente life / as a walkyng weyfaryng man or as a voyagieng pilgryme departith from some lodgyng; place or an hostellrye / for to come to his owne dwellyng house / ¶ But I departe me not from this life as the lorde departeth from his owne house / ffor this passable life is nowght ellys but as a lodgyng place or an hos; tellrye / But the life to come is the stablement and the propre house of myne vndedly soule / ffor nature mo; dir of alle thynges hath youen to vs men lodgyngs for to dwelle to gedyr / But she hath not grauyn to vs no hous euir to inhabite / ¶ Thenke ye Scipion and Tellyus how noble be that dyuyne counceille and that noble assamble wherin onely shal be the soules of gode men / To the whiche Counceille I Caton shall goo asso: ne as I shalle departe from this troublous lyfe and from this filthe / ffor soth I shall goo to the dyuyne coun; ceille / not onely of the men of whom I haue before spo; kyn / but namely at the departyng from this life / I shall goo with the yongy Caton my sone / whiche was so goody a man that his fettir was neuir borne of modyr / nor more excellent in pytye nor in religion / ¶ I haue brent and beryedy the body of my Sone Caton how be it that othir wise shulde hadde be aftir cours of nature That is to witt / that my body olde & auncyent owght to haue be brent and beryed by my sone, ¶ The soule of my sone Caton left me not / but his soule whiche lokyd & be; heeldy that I shulde come to hym is turnedy and with drawen in certeyne placys of heuyn in the whiche it is

auisedy as J hope that J shulde come to, aftir myne olde age, ¶ Andy treWe it is Scipion and Lely; us that it hath seemyd you that J didy bere andy suffre With goody andy strongy courage the deth of yongy Caton my sone / ¶ But forsooth J didy not bere it nor suffre it not by so strongy / nor by so pacient a courage / But J hady therof soroWe andy troWble / But J conforteby me thenkyngy in my Courage that betWixt Vs tWo, shuldy not be so longy space of places aftir this present life, ¶ Ye Scipion and Lelius saye at the begynnyngy of this boke, that ye Were Woont to Woonder andy merueile hou myne olde age myght be to me softe easye andy sWete in thies tWo thynges, Whiche seemyn sharp andy byttir for to suffre / That is to Witt, myne olde age andy the hasty deth of my goody sone Caton. ¶ Andy J haue tolde you that myne olde age is to me both sWete andy light / Andy it is not onely muche chargyngy / but it is Joyouse andy glady to me / by cause that J thenk andy deme for certayne that the soule neuir dieth / ¶ But if it be in erroure andy oute of trouthe aftir the doctryne andy scole of Epycures / by cause that J beleue that the soules be Vndedly andy Jnmortelle perdurable and euirlastyngy,

J answere you that this erroure pleasith me/andy J consente me in it right gladly, andy as longy tyme as J lyue J Wille not that any philosopher / nor ony other of What condicyon that euir he be, take Wbey fro me this erroure / Wherin J delyte me / ffor if aftir

this presente life J be dede, aswele in soule as in body as that some yongy and smale philosophers of whiche men name Epycures that affermyn / Certayne it is / that J shall feele nothyngy, Andy also J am not afferde that suche philosophers so dedy / mockyn me nor of this myne oppinion. Aftir whiche J verily beleue that the soules be vndedly / ¶ But ye may demaunde me / What be olde men ought to doo, eythir to desyre to lyue lenger, or to desire the deth / andy to be contente to haue lyued tille olde age / ¶ J answere you, that though the soules were not vndedly, yit euery man ought to desire that he dye in his tyme / That is to witt / in olde age, ffor the nature of man hath in hit certeyne terme for to lyue / as haue the othir thynges of the worldy / whiche alle dyen, or fallyn or fayllen aftir they haue accomplisshedy andy fulfylledy their cours of age / ¶ Nolle it is trewe that aftir the fyue first ages / olde age is the accomplisshimg andy the fullfylyngy of the life of men, ¶ We also oughght not desire to lyue oiur olde age, as J shewe it you by this exsample, The pete / whiche rehercith in the Scene in some ffable, oughght to be ware that he make not werye, andy that he noye not his heeres by ouer longy rehercyngy the ffable, ¶ So that men oughght not desire to lyue ouir olde age, Seeyngy pryncypally that in that age or neuir, he is fulle weerye for to lyue, J haue hady in my thought for to telle you of olde age, as ye haue hezdy here / To the whiche J desire that ye may come / to thentente that by experyncc of deth, ye

may preue tho thyngys whiché ye haue herd of me/which
be by me wretyn in this my boke callidy olde age :

Explicit :

Thus endeth the boke of Tulle of olde age translatedy
out of latyn in to frenshe by laurence de primo facto at
the comaundement of the noble prynce Lowys Duc of
Guzlon/and enprynted by me symple persone William
Caxton in to Englysshe at the playsir solace and reue-
rence of men growyng in to olde age the vij day of Au-
gust the yere of our lordy. M.CCCC.lxxxj :

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

Here folowyth the said Tullius de Amicicia translated in to our maternall Englissh tongue by the noble famous Erle, The Erle of Wurcestre sone & heyer to the lord typtoft, Which in his tyme flowred in vertue & cunnyng, to whom I knewe none lyke emonge the lordes of the temporalite in science & moral vertue, I beseche almyghty god to haue mercy on his sowle & praye al them that shal here or rede this litel treatys moch vertuo9 of frendship in like wise of your charyte to remẽbre his soule emong your prayers, And by cause this werke was made by the prince of Eloquence Tullius intitled de Amycicia after that he had acheuid his boke de senectute, as heretofore ye maye more playnly see at large/ thẽne me semeth it requisite & necessarye that I sette in folowing the said book/ this book de Amicicia/ Whiche by goddes grace shal playnly folowe

Cicero de Amicicia

¶ Uintus Mucius Augur Scuola, This was his name, Whiche was woonte to telle many thynges merely / And by mynde of Celius/ Telyus his fader in talke/ And he was not aferde to call hym a wise man in all his sayenges, To the whiche Scuola I was putt by my fader / And after that I had taken the clothyng due to the astate of man / While I myght or that it was leeful to come so to doo, I neuir departed fro that goody olde mannys syde/ of whom I lerned many thynges disputed ripely, And many thynges said compendiously, And lekouely suche I bare away, doyng my payne by meanes

of his wisedom to fynde my self the better aught/And after his decesse/I was with another Seuola a bisshop, the which I dare wel saye the most excellent man in wisedom & Justice. But no force of that at this tyme, I will retorne to the first Seuola. When he lyked to set vs of many thynges sittyng in his chayer, as he was woont to do at home. as I am wel remembrid whyle I was there & felle of my seruauntes with hym/Hit fortuned hym to falle in such speche, as wel nyghe in euery mans mouth in this wise sayeng. Attice ye remembre wel as I trowe, & moch the rather that ye were conuersaunt with Publius Snpicius when he was one of the Tribunys of the peple. how he fyll at variaūce, and at dedly hate with hym Quintus Pompeyus that tyme Consul, And syth he had lyued with hym in grete nyghnes of lone. How grete meruaile and complaynt was had of the peple, ye your self knowen wel/And when Seuola had fallen thus in this langage, he declared thus the wordes which Lelyus had vsed vnto hym of frendship/& his sone in law Faunyus the sone of Marcus within fewe dayes after the deth of Scipio Affryean. The sentences of the which disputacōn/I have surely in my remembraūce. And haue disposed the same in this boke. as me semeth, and therwith introduced the same persones in spekyng to gyders, lest if I made my boke other wise, I shold vse to ofte/quoth I. And quoth he/And therfor muche the rather I dyde it/ that it shold seme, as yf the same persones had the same langage / And Attice syth ye haue ofte entreted me to wryte somwhat of frendship / It semeth me / that it setteth me right wel to do so, As wel for it was a

thynge due & neceſſarye to the knowleche of all peple, as to the grete familyarite & frendſhip betwene vs tweyne/ Therfor I haue obeyed not vngladly thentent, that by thaccompliſſhemēt of your deſire. I ſhold mowe do prouf; fyte to many one. but in lykewiſe as I dyde in my boke whiche I wrote vnto you of age entitled Cato Maior. wherin I enduced the olde Cato diſputyng of age. ffor ſo moche, as he was semed to me the mooſt apte perſone in that behalue I mene to speke of age. Alſo ſyth he was of ſo many yeris aboue all other. lykewiſe ſyth I vnderſtā; de by our faders the memorable familyarite vſed betwene Gayus Lelyus & Publius Scipio Amore apte perſone. I coude not remembre to dyſſyde better the mater of frendſhip, than the ſeid Lelius, namely ſyth my maiſ ter Seuola remembrid vnto me, how Lelyus hath re; ſonned with hym in the ſame matier/ And I can not re; membre me, how my werke ſholde mowe seme of gretter weight & auctorite, than if I cauſe the wordes whiche I ſhal vſe to come from their breſtes/ which ben knowen of gretteſt auctorite and worſhipe. Therfor when I rede my owen werkes I am diſpoſed somtyme. that I deme Cato ſpeketh & not I. But as that tyme I brought in an a; ged man to speke with another of age. ſo in this boke I moſt frendly to the my frende write of frendſhip. That tyme ſpak Cato whos older thenne coude not be folide/ne in his dayes his wiſer. Now Lelius bothe wiſe & experte. ſo he is reputed, & excellēt in the ſouerayn fame of frend; ſhip ſpekith of amytee or frendſhip. & of one I may you to take hede a lytil while to the exaucōn of this deſire/ and

me ymagynyng alwey that the same Lelyus spekyth

Thus endeth the prologue

Ueus Flaunyus and Quintus Mu-
cius/cam to their fader in lalle/after the
c deth of Scipio Affryean/by whom the
matier was mynystred, and Lelius ma-
de their answere/The disputacon was all
of frendship, the which yf it plese you to rede/ye shal bet-
ter apperceyue/Faunyus/ Is this welle Lelius, or no,
that ther was neuir a better ne a more worshipful man,
than was Scipio Affryean, yet ye may trolle for cer-
tain, that all folkes haue their eyen cast vpon you/And
they holde a byleue verily that ye ar to be sette alone, a
first in the lawde of wisedom/Marcus Cato was in lyke
wyse, we knowe wel that Lelyus Attilius was called
wyse, ffor that he was wel lerned in lalle Cyuyle/And
Cato had his fame/ffor that he had vse and experyence
of many thynges/ffor dyuerse thynges as wel in the se-
nate as in open place/were shewed by hym prudently/pro-
uedy stedfastely ewated/and quyckly answerd/And
therfor in his age he was called Cato the wise, But
as to you ye haue the name of wisedom, not only/ffor
that ye haue it by a maner of nature and vse/but
also by studye and doctryne, not as the comyn peple,
But as the wel vndirstondyng men are woont to
calle a wyse man, whiche saye ye haue not your felalle in
alle grece/ffor though so be/they that answere subtylly,

sayre in their opynyons from other folkes, whiche putte seuen to be callid wise men, we haue vnderstande one in Athenes/ And that he was so shewed and Juged by the answere of Appollo / But they thurgh suche wisedome to be in you that ye suppose/ you ye haue nothyng but such as is your plenare power, And therwith euery fortune happe or chaunge be subget to vertu/ whiche causeth Se/ uola here present/ And me to praye you/ that we may vnderstande/ how ye take the oth of Scipio Affryean/ and moche the rather / sith at our assemblee/ this othir day in the gardyn of Decius Brutus / so were we woonte to entrecomyne of dyuerse matiers concernyng our weel publik/ ye were not present/ where ye ne faylled in tymes past with alle diligence there to acomplissh your dutee / Seuola/ Some men demaunde me and many of my felawes / ffaunyus in like wise as it is saide afore, the cause J meane of your absence from that place/ And J haue answerd as J haue thought/ layeng the cause vnto the sorowe/ whiche ye haue late taken/ sayeng that how be it your wisedom toke moderatly the oth of so worshipful a man and so especail frende / yet your humanyte myght not suffre you to be free of diseace and sorow And that ye were not presente in our companye / at that day / J saide it was rather longe on your diseace / than sorow / Telyus / fforsothe Seuola / euen as it was ye saide, J wote right wel for ony thyng / that sholde haue touched my self yf J had ley of power / J sholde not haue ley thens ne haue failled in my dutee / And namely in that/ that J haue not be vsed to

faute in me I can suppose that a lytil thynge shold molte happen to ony man wel disposed auised or stedfast, that he shold seace at ony tyme of the doyng of his duete. And as to you Staunyus which laye so grete thynge of wor-ship to me, and so moche that my self knowe not therof ne desire the same, ye doo that as my frende but as me se-meth ye deme not a right of Cato / for eyther ther was neuer wise man, And that I beleue wel, or ellys yf ther were ony he was one as in settyng alle othir thynges a-syde in that, that he suffred so euenly the deth of his sone I can remembre Paulus and I haue seen Gayus, but be ware that ye not compare eyther of thise, with Cato the man of gretteste auctorite and most sette by, ne yet preferre hym our Cato whom Appollo Juged to be wy-sest, for Socrates was prayse for his sayeng, And Cato for his deades, And as for me syth I muste spekie with you bothe / vndirstande me in this wise, yf I shal naye my self to be moeued with the deth of Scipio, whe-ther I shal molde doo so truly / I reporte me to alle wise men, for I knowe my self wel that I shal so sayeng ma-ke a lesynge, no doubte of I am mouedy for the lacke of suche a frende, for his semblable as I trowe in frendship was neuir, And I dar wel saye, ther was neuir none such But me nedeth no medecynes, I wil comforte my self / And pryncypally with this comfort, that I lak that erreur, that causeth othir to be of the verydy whan their frendes decesse / I trowe ther myght no thynge come to Scipio of euill, And yf ther dyde I had my parte therin Who so euir he be that in the diseace of his frende sorweth

he sheweth hym self the very louer of his frende, Who is he, that may saye naye/ but that he is right wel departed from this world, on lesse that he be suche one, that setteth lytil or nothyng by immortalite, And what is that he had not/ that was lefull to ony man to wisshe, dyd not he surmounte the grete hope of all the Cyteseyns / whiche they had of hym the tyme of his childhode, whan that he cam to the estate of man/ by his credible vertue, he neuer shewed to be made Consul, and thryes enioyed he that astate/ the first tyme afore or he was ripe of yeres/ The seconde tyme, whan he was of age conuenient, And yet almost to late for our weel publik, ffor he exacted two grete Cytees to Rome/ the most capitayl enemyes, and with one batayle oppressyd not onely the felde made ayenst hym, but many other feldes and batailles Immynent, and lykely yf the victory had not thenne fallen on his syde / What shal I saye of his goodly maners / of his pyte, whiche he vsed to his moder, liberalite to his susters, bonte to his frendes, and Justice to all folkes sith they be not vnknowen to you, And how welbeloued he was in our cytee, the complaint made aboute his heres berith sufficient witnes What helpeth thēne the addyng to, of fewe yeres vnto Scipio ffor sothe age though it be not greuous, as I am remembred Cato saide the yere afore he deyed in comynycacyon had bytwene hym Scipio & me, yet it hath taken away the greneſſe & lustyneſſe which Scipio had at that tyme/ neuertheles he was suche in lyf/ fortune, & glorye, that ther myght nothyng ther vnto be added, The lustyneſſe of his deyeng tolde away the felyng of his deth from hym, how be

dyed it is hard to saye, what men deme/ye see wel, Neuer-
theles̄e this J may wel saye/emong alle tho dayes which
were of gretteſt worſhip and gladnes to Scipio/ That
day next afore the day of his deth/whan he departedy oute
of the ſenate/he was conduytedy and accompanyedy home
with the faders conſcript / The people of rome with their
ſtraungers vnder their obeyſſaunce andy amytee, andy
with the latyns was to hym the daye of gretteſt worſhip
And thēne fro that hygh degree of aſtate/it ſemedy hym
ſodeynly to be called vp moche rather to the goddes above
than to the goddes bynethe, Ne J can not holde with them
which haue bygonne lately the opynyon, to holde that the
ſoules dye with their bodyes/and that deth maketh ſo an
ende of alle attones / ffor the auctorite of folkes of olde
tyme is therto contrarye, with whiche J holde gretely /
andy to our elders / whiche haue acquytedy them ſo rely-
giouſly, whiche haue deyed in their tymes/And that they
ne wolde haue doon, yf they had trowed ſo, hit had not ap-
perteynedy in ony wiſe to them, or the auctorite of them
whiche haue ley in our cytee / andy ſom tyme haue with
their holſom preceptes andy lawes yeuen ſufficient doctry-
ne to grete Grece that tyme flowryng/and now waſted
and deſtroyed/or his auctorite that was calledy the wiſeſt
by Appollo/whiche ſaidy not now this/Now that/as he
dyde in many othir thynges, but alwey abode ferme in
this ſayengy / that the ſoules of men ley dyuyne/Andy
whan they departe from the bodyes/if they haue ley good
and iuſte in their lyuyng/their waye vnto heuen is open
and right ſpedy to alle ſuche/And ſo it was ſemed vnto

the same Scipio / ffor right a felle dayes afore that he dyed / Whan Philus and Manylius were present and your self Seuola and dyuers other thre dayes to gydre he disputed of our estate publik, and the conclucion was of the immortalite of the soule / the whiche he saide and lerned of Scipio Affrican by vysion of his slepe / Thene yf it so be that the soule of euery excellently goody man / shal departe lightly in the lighteste wyse in his dyeng, as for the kepyng & bondes of the body / to whom shold, me deme that / Aliter / Ascence was graũted vnto hym namely of the godes than vnto Scipio, Wherfor I dar not compleyne his fortune / leste than I be thought rathir to hym enuious than frendly / yf othirwise peraventure I were aferde / lest the deth of the body & the soule were all one / & so as ther is nothyng of good in deth, so in like wise there is nothing of euil in the same / ffor Whan the felyng is goon from a man / he were as good / he had neuir be born / yet we are glad that euir Scipio was born / and so shal this cyte ley as longe as it shal endure / Therfor as I said aboue / he is wele qued With all, & I more trusly delt With all than right wolde / ffor sith I entred in to this lif afore hym / I shold by reason haue dyed afore hym / Neuirtheles I vse so ioyously the remembraunce of our frendship, that me semed I lyued prosperously / ffor that I haue had and leyed my lyf With Scipio, With whom my charge of thynges concernyng our estate publyk and pryuate were euen departed / and With whom in were & peas was alwey one / And in that wherin rested the gretteste force of frendship / oure Willes / studyes, and

felynges were all one, Therfor the vnctelbe fame of this Wisedom, Whiche Staunyus hath remembred me/to haue delited me/not so gretly as doth this, J truste that the remembraunce of the freudship bytwene me and Scipio shal euer endure, And so moche the more ioyous to me it is, that in alle Worldes passed / vnneth thre or foure couple of suche frendes be named, emong Whiche, J truste that the frendlyhod of Scipio with Lelyus shalbe knowen/to all them Whiche shal come after vs/Staunyus, Lelyus it must be as ye saye/but sith ye haue made mencion of frendlihode, and that we ben at good leyser, ye shal doo to me a thynge / and so J trolbe to Seuola Wonder agreable / namely yf ye shal please as ye were Wonte to done in alle other thynges of you demaunded, to dispute in this matier of frendship What ye fele, What ye repute and What preceptys ye Wil yeue to the same, Seuola, Hit shal be to me right agreable, that ye so dispute/Neuertheles Staunyus toke out of my mouth the thyng that J Wold haue said/Wherfor not only to Staunius, but to me, ye shal doo a thyng of grete pleasyr. Lelyus. Hyt shal not greue me so to doo / yf J were assured of my self, ffor no doubte of the matier is right notable. And as Staunyus sayth We be at good leyser. But What maner man am J. or What is my habylite. The custōme of lerned men is this. and the grekes haue the same. to haue a matier purposed vnto them. And they recke neuir though it come sodeynly. vpon the Which they Wille dispute. but that is a grete Werke. and suche as neded not a litel exercise. Wherfor touchyng suche

thynges as may be disputed of amytee/ I Wil aduise you to desire it of them/ Whiche take vpon them suche thynges But thus forsothly I may exhorte you that ye preferre amyte/ to fore alle other humayne thynges/ ffor sothe ther is no thynge so conuenyent / and verely apte to men eyther in prosperite or aduersite, But this I deme fyrst / ffrendship may not be in othir / than in goody folkes / And yet I Wil not goo so nere the quycke / as to saye that it may not be/ but in goody folkes/ as peraduenture some Will so holde/ the Whiche enserchyng the matier curiously/ and perauenture trewly, but for oure Wele publik easely they denye ony man to be good yf he be not Wise / Wel be it so/ but thenne they make suche an interpretacion of Wisedom/ that as yet no mortal men coude atteyne the lyke therof / But lete vs take hede therof rather of the thynges that ben in the commyne vse and lyf of man than of suche thynges as ben ymagyned or desyred to be ffor I shal neuir calle Gayus ffabrycius Marcus curius or Titus cornucanus/ Whiche our forffadres helde Wise / yf I sholde folowe that rule / Wherfore lete they theym Whiche yeue suche interpretacyon of Wisedom take the name of Wisedom to them self / The Whiche name is right enuious and verie/ or lete them graunte / that the said persones Were good/ And that forsothe they ne shal but denye/ that name of goodnesse to be graunted to ony, but to Wise men, And lete vs be more playn and blonte Thenne suche as saye/ that they deme them self and their lyf so, that their fayth / holynesse of maners / ffelysship and lyteralyte may be shewed, And that ther is in them

no couetise of worshipe/luste/or vndue hardynes/but gre/
te stedfastnesse like wise as was in theym whom I haue
named aboue. lete vs Juge thise good men. as they we/
re holden so to be called. the whiche gete as forsothly as
men may the best nature to their guyde in alle their ly/
uyng. Me semeth that I sholde so vse to be so bory. That
ther shold be a maner of felisshipe emong alle persones
And moche the rather. that euery man hath an inclyna/
cion vnto the same. So that one cyteseyn oralbe rather
to an other. than one straunger to another. And tho
that ben of kynne. rather than tho that ben fer of. ffor
nature her self hath brought forth frendshipe in this excel/
lent kynrede. but from frendshipe neuir for to take albey
kenyuolence. ffor thane take albey the name of frendshipe
And so it is not in nyghnesse of blood. And holde grete
the force of frendshipe is. by this it may best be vndir/
standen. ffor emong the infenyte companye of mankynde.
whiche nature hath goten to her self. it is a thyng so na/
wobly brought to gydre. and oralbyn so streyte. that alle
maner of loue restith betwene tweyne. or betwene
right fewe. ffrendshipe forsothe is nothyng ellis but the
knyttyng to gydre of that thyng that is goodly. and of
that thyng that is humayne with souerayne kenyuolence
and charyte. And I wote neuer. on lesse than it were wi/
sedome. what bettir thyng myght be grauntede vnto man
by the goddes Jnmortall. Neuirtheless some saye. that
richesse is bettir than it. And some heale. And some po/
wer. and some worshipe. and some pleasaunce. But the
laste is a beestely opynyon. And the thyngys byfore/

ley ful slyper, and vncertayn/ and not only putt in our
disposicions/ but in soleherdynesse of fortune. They for-
soth whiche putt the highest wele in vertue, put her right
wele and notably, and as they sholde do / but the self
vertue bryngeth forth frendshipe & continueth/ ffor ffrend-
shipe may be in no wyse without vertue / But now lete
vs make an interpretacyon of vertue accordyng to the
comune spekyng and lyuyng/ ne lete vs amesure it after
the magnyficence of wordes, as though we were gretly
lerned our self/ but lete vs calle them goody men, whiche
ley holden goody, as Paulos/ Catones, Gayos, Sci-
piones and Philos. The comune lyf is content with
them/ and lete vs forgete them, that can by no maner be
foūde in ony place emonge such men as I rehersed byforn/
ffrendshipe hath so many oportunytees/ that I may vnne-
the rehersse them/ And first of alle / who is he / that may
be leefully in this lyf/ as Enneus saith/ that restith not,
in the good ioynt or good will of some frende, And what
may be more plesaunt, than to haue suche a frende/ that ye
maye spekе therby such fruyt in thynges prosperou/ yf ye
ne hady some one to enioye of your prosperite as gretely
as your self, & how hard were it, to suffre thynges aduerse
without one, whiche wolde be soryer / for your aduersite
than your self, forsoth other thynges, whiche ley gretely
desired ley right behofful euery thyng with other/ As ri-
chesse for vse, plente for reuerence, worshipe for laude or
fame/ plesaunce for gladnesse/ And heale for lack of peyne,
and for the vse of the gyftes of the body/ But frend-
shipe conteyneth many thynges, whyther so euer ye turne

you it is redy/hit is putt out in noo place/ffor it is neuir
slolbe.it is neuir greuous/Therfor as they saye,we vse
not fyre or water in moo places,than we vse frendship,
Ne I spekte not nolw of the vulgar & meane oppynyon
of frendship.Which peraduenture shold both delyte & prou
fyte/But of that frendship which is very & parfyght/like
to theirs,which haue bey but felbe in nombre deseruedy,so
to be callyd/no doubte of.ffrendship emblesshyth prospe:
ryte,releueth aduersyte,Andy is partener to bothe.But
by side the manyfolde grete commodyte,is that frendship
hath in hym self in this/it doth excell merueyllously abo:
ue that.that it doth in ony other,That is to saye,that
it yeueth good hope to our lyf,Whiche we are to lyue,and
suffreth not our myndes neyther to be enfebledy ne ouer;
throwen/Also forsothe who so euir seeth his frende,seeth a
maner lykenesse of hym self/Therfor whan they bey abi
sente/they bey nygh to gydre/And whan they bey nedy/
they habounde in goodes/Andy whan they bey feble/they
bey of grete force/Andy that whiche is hardest to byleue.
Whan they be ded they lyue/So grete is the desire.so gre;
te is the worship.so grete is the remembraunce of frend;
ship.Syth that their deth is thought so blessid.and their
lyf is thought so worshipfull.And takie awey from nai
ture the ioyned good will of thynges.and neyther holbs
ne cytee.ne tylthe of londe shal remayne.Andy yf this
be to lytil to vndirstonde the force of frendship and acor:
de by.hit may be apperceyued by his contrarye.that is to
saye by varyaunce andy debate.ffor where may be founde
ay housholde so stable.or a cytee so ferme.that may not

le ouerthrowen by meanie of hate & discorde/ by the whiche it may le sone Juged/ how good a thyng frendship is/ They saye that a man named Agrigentinus/ wel lerned in the dytees of greee/ by maner of prophecye had this langage/ What so euir it le in the nature of thynges/ or in all the world/ whiche hath a naturell mouyng/ desireth his lyke/ & fleeth his contrarye/ And euery naturel man vnderstandeth and preyseth frendship/ And dispraiseth & rebuketh enemytee/ In so moch that whan ony man/ hath taken thoffice of a frende vpon hym/ in adressyng of hym self to parell/ or in takyng parte of Jeobardye with his frende/ Who is he/ that prayseth not his deade in the hyghest wyse/ What crye and noyse causeth the tragedye played in the hous of myn hoost and my frende Marcus Potumus whan Thyas there present sought Orestes/ and enserched so narowly/ that he cam to the place/ where he soude tweyne of the whiche he knewe that he was one. Pylades his felawe there/ whiche toke vpon hym thenne the name of Orestes of full will & purpos to dye for hym/ And the said Pylades Orestes felawe thene constantly sayeng yet am I he/ whiche ye haue sought and not Pylades, how glad the peple were whan they sawe this played and feyned ye knowe wel And how moche more glad trowe ye/ they wolde haue ben, yf they had seen it don in very deede/ there nature shewed verily her force, whan tho men which myght not doo it theym self/ they Juged excellently wel don in another. Hyther to me semeth I myght saye that/ whiche I felte of frendship/ yf ther le ony thynges to le saidy ferther, as I trowe ther ben many.

thenne aske ye of theym / Whiche taliyn vpon theym to
dispute lyke maters Faunyus. We hady lyuer hyere
it of you, though J haue demaunded and herde it of other
not ayen my Wille. But be loke ak aftir another maner
thred of your spynnyng/ Seuola ffaunyus. ye Wold
moche the rather saye so. yf ye had be present a lytil afore
the deth of Scipio. Whan my fader Lelyus and he dis-
puted of our estate publyeque, Whan he Was so grete, and
so stronge a protectour of right Wisnesse, ayen the study-
ed reasons of Philus/ Faunyus. Hit Was easy for
hym/Which Was mooste Juste hym self, to defende the parte
of Justice. Seuola What saye ye, and Why not as
lightly frendship. by the Which he hath goten, m shelbyng
of hym self stedfaste and faithful therin soueravn glo-
rye, Lelyus ffor sothe ye are aboute enforce me, but it
is but lytil to be takyn hede of/by What meane ye cõstrey-
ne me/but no doubte. and ye enforce me, harde it is, and
not With equyte. to Withsaye your pleasires/Whiche ben my
sonnes in laWe. And namely in that thynge. Whiche is
good. ffull ofte Whan J haue remembrid my self of frend-
ship. J haue ben acustomed. to thenke Whether/that frend-
ship shulde be desired/in tyme of febleneSSe and nede/ so
that one sholde receyue or yeue to another, of benefayttes
to be yeuen or takyen/that thyng that he myght not attey-
ne to by hym self, and Whether this Was very due or pro-
pre to frendship, but me semeth ther Was another cause
better/fayrer, & more natural. And that is loue of Whome
amytee hath his name/ffor of Amor comyth Amicicia
And that loue is the pryncypal and the chief thynge in

ioynyng of good wille. ffor prouffyt is ofte had of them whom we worshipe and obserue by the colours of frendship accordyng to the seasons/ but in veray frendship/ there is nothyng feyned or dyssymyled. And what someuer is in frendship/ it hath his begynnyng rather of nature/ than of nede or indigence. And that it cometh rather of applieng of mannes wille. to the felyng that he hath to loue. than of the thought he hath. What prouffyte sholde growe therby. ffor what is it in it self. it may be soone espyed in leestys. whiche loueth them that they bryngе forth for a certeyn tyme. And be as welle byloued agayn. so that the felyng of frendship is sone apparceyued in suche leestys. But moche more euidently in man/ ffyrst by that charyte and loue parfyght/ whiche is betwene the childeren/ and fader and moder/ whiche may not be dysseuerid without grete and detestable offence/ Secondly yf ther be a lyke felyng in other personnes of loue, as thus. yf we may gete ony man accordyng to our maner and nature/ of whom we may see the lyght of prowesse & vertue. ffor no doubte of/ ther is nothyng more amyable than vertue. ffor it happeth ofte, that we loue theym. whom we dyde neuer see. ffor theyr vertue & probyte. Who is he/ that vseth not the remembrance of Cneus Fabricius & Marcus Curius with a maner of charyte & beneuolence/ & yet we neuir salle them, and ther ayen/ who is he/ that hateth not Tarquinius Superbus. Publius Callius/ & Spurius Melius. We haue fowghte with two princes in ytalye for the souerayntе, and they were Pirrus and Hanybal And as touchyng the fyrst, we olde hym no grete

euyl wyll/for the probyte and probesse which we felte in hym/and the seconde this cyte shal neuir but hate hym for his cruelnesse/Thenne yf ther be so grete force in probite that we loue in them. Whiche we neuir salbe/andy moche more in oure enemy/What merueyle is it/though the courages of men bey gretly moued/whan it semeth them that they may see vertue andy probesse in theym/with whom they may be famulyar/Though loue be confermedy by benefaytes taken/and loue vndirstandey/and ofte familyarite. The whiche thynges Joyned with the fyrst mocon of corage andy loue/causeth a man merueyllous encreas of feruent benyuolence/Therfore andy who someuer trowe that it procedeth of febleneſſe or impotencie. or that the said febleneſſe shold be the moyen to attayne/to that whiche they desyre in frendship/Sothly they leue the begynnyngy of frendship/to humble/to bare/andy to vnworshipfull/syth that they wille/that it shold sprynge of wretchidneſſe and indigence/And yf that were trewe/who so euer were leest of reputacyon andy hauoure/were most apte to frendship. And that is alle other wise/ffor als so moche more/as a man is most assuredy in the moste saufgarde of vertue andy wisedom/so that he hath no nede of ony other outwardy helpe/but thynketh that in hym self is/alle that he hath nede of/so moche the more is he excellent in frendshippes to be atteynedy. What nede hady Scipio Affrycan to me/ffor sothe none. Ne I of hym/but I by a maner of admyracyon of his vertues louedy hym/And he hauyngy som goody oppynyon peraduenture louedy me/And oure

auſtomme and famylyarȳte encreaced oure kenyuolence/ And though right grete & moche prouffyte enſiewed to eyther of vs / by the ſame . yet it was not the cauſe . that made vs fyrſt to loue / ffor we be lyberall and glady to do goody . Not for that we lokie aftir a rewarde of duete . ffor thenne oure benefayte were grounded vpon vſure / But we be naturelly redy to thadmynyſtracyon of fredom So and in lyke wiſe / we be enduced to byleue / that frendſhip ſhold not be vſed for the hope of rewarde / But for the fruyt . that groweth of the ſame / and that is loue . Neuirtheles I am in all wyſes of dyuerſe oppynyon from the folkes . whiche aftir thair beeſtely ſenſualȳte / putt the begynnyng of frendſhip in fleſſhely luſte / And what meruaille is . though they which ſo do / may ſee nothynge whiche is hyghe / worthy to be magnefyed or dyuyne / ſyth that they ſette their myndes & thoughtes . vpon a thyng ſo ſymple and vyle . Therfor lete vs ſette a ſyde alle ſuch from oure communycacyon / And lete vs vndirſtande / that the felyng of loue / and thentierneſſe of goody wille cometh of nature / with the ſygnefyeng of prouefſe from eyther partye / the whiche ſygnyfycacyon of loue / who ſom euer they be that deſire it . they applye them ſelf as nyghe as they can / to ſuche as they haue bygonne to loue . that they may enioye theyr auſtommes and maners . ſo that they may be euen & egall in manr of louyng / & more redy to meryte wel of theyr frende / than to aſke agayn / the thynge that they haue merytedy wel in / Suche worſhip ; ful ſtryf ſholdy be alwey bytwene theym / that is to ſaye who ſo molde do moſte for other / ſo grete prouffytes

ſhal growe of their frendſhip/And this begynnyng of frendſhip/which procedeth of nature ſhal be more weyghty and ſtraye/than that whiche procedeth of nede/ffor yf ſo be that prouffit ſhold be the cauſe of knyttyng of frendſhip/Whan ſo euir that prouffyt faylleth. frendſhip is looſed/but for as moche/as nature may not be chaunged the frendlyhodes whiche growe of nature / be moſt ferme/ and lengeſt enduryng / ye ſee now als ferre as J can ſhewe, the begynnyng/and the firſt Origenal of amytee/ Pleaſe it you ony other thynge/ Faundus Go forth Lelyus as ye haue bygonne we praye you / ffor J may take vpon me to anſwere lawfully for hym, that is yonger than J. Scuola Wother ye doo not amys / therfore lete vs here our fader in lawe, Lelyus Right worſhipful ſones / here now the thynges. whiche were ofte dyſputed. betwene me and Scipio of frendſhip. Nauirtheleſſe he ſeide ful ofte, that ther was nothynge more hardy to be byleued/than that frendſhip myght endure betwene tweyne / vnto theyr laſte lyf dayes. ffor he ſayde / it happeth right ofte. that ſome one thynge is expedyent to one. that is not expedyent to that other. Alſo in theſtate publyque / they varye in thayr opynyons. There with he ſaide the maners of men ben ofte chaungedy. Some chaunged them in theyr aduerſyte/ Some in theyr proſperyte. Some in theyr greuous yeres. And that is in theyr olde age / And he toke his exſample of his fyrſt flouryng ages. Sayeng that ſome childeren loue in the hyeſt wyſe, tyl they come to the age of ſeuenteyn/and thenne chaunge/And yf they happen to continue

to the yeres of force and lustynesse/eyther for the loue of wymmen/or for couetyse of goody, they shal falle at stryf and debate. And that is for that they both/may not haue one thynge/and yf they passe that tyme/of continuaunce of frendship, tyl they ley of typer yeres. it happeth ofte the same frendship to feble and fayle/yf they falle in stryf for worship. A gretter sore can not be in frendship, than the couetyse of goody, whiche leye men gretly/ But the mooste hurte of frendship is, whan they whiche ley moche worshipful, stryue for worship and glorye/of the whiche stryf, most dedly enemyte hath happed ofte bytwene theym/whiche haue ley mooste frendly/Also we haue seen of grete debates for the more parte/whan some thynge haue ley desyred, and asked vnresonably of frendes. as that one wille praye the other to be a myny̆stre of his luste, or any helper of his wronge/the which thyng/whan he refuseth to do, though he do so acordyng to worshipe/yet is he blamed of vnkyndenesse. And the breache of frendship by suche as wolde not serue to their ententes. And thenne they saye, that ther is nothyng, that their frende wolde desire of theym, but that they wold do it gladly for their sakes/So by this olde maner of quarellyng, ffamylyarye hath not only be sette a syde/ But also perpetuel hate, hath growen of the same, So Scipio saide it semed hym, how frendlyhode is subgete to so many fawtes and parellys, that it is not only thoffice of a wysman/but of a gracious man to fle it, ffor so moche thenne, lete vs see fyrst, yf it shal so plese you. how loue sholde procede in frendship, how suppose ye

though Coriolanus had frendes/ shold they haue warred with hym ayenst their owen cõtree & cyte/ And what Bestilinus which desired to be a kyng emong vs/ or Melius We haue seen Tiberius Gracchus weyeng oure estate publyque. ffor saken of Quyntinus Tubero & such other his frendes. And Cucus Blaxius a Cuman born And your hoost Scuola. When he cam to me that same tyme present Lenates & Rupilius that same tyme be kyng consuls/ prayeng me that I wolde spare hym ma kyng his cause/ for that he sette so moche by Gracchus. that what so euer he hadd commanded hym to doo. hym thought it was leeful to hym to doo the same/ Thenne I asked hym yf he had commanded the to haue brought fyre to haue brente the cappytoyle with, Woldest thou haue doon so. he said. But & he had cõmanded me so, I wolde haue obeyed his cõmandement how thynke ye was not this a cursyd answer/ And forsothe he dyde/ as he saide/ ffor he not only obeyed to the folysshe presumpcyon of Tyberyus Gracchus/ but therwith helped it forth as ferre/ as was to hym possible/ so he made not hym self the seruaunt of his wodenesse/ but ouer that/ the guyde & the conduytour of the same/ therfor his madnesse was fresshe enquyred of/ & he therfor sone aferde fledde in to Alie to our enemyes. and suffred for the same greuo9 & Juste paynes. Therfor I saye it is none cause of synne. When a man sayth he dyde it/ by cause of his frende. ffor syth that vertue is the verray knotte of frendship it is harde for frendship to a byde. When men departe fro vertue. ffor yf that we thynke resonable to gralite vnto our faders all ỹ they wold haue of

vs. or to desire of theym. all that we wold haue of theym late vs be of so parfyght wisedom / that in our desires ne theyres. be ony thyng of vice. But for so moch as we speke of suche frendes as we see or of such as we remembre. that ben here in this comyn lyf emonge vs. it is beste we take oure ensamples of them. and in especial of them which dralben next vnto wisedome We haue seen Publius Emilius right collersaunt and familyer with Ineinius. And as we haue vnderstande by oure faders they were clepes called to the attones to estate and dignyte, ffirst they were made to the Consoris and countrollers of maners. Also it is wreton how Marcus curius and Titus corunacius were gretly ioyned to thise forsaid in frendship and good wille. And bylieue thyse tweyne, that I laste spak of. was grete loue. And it is not to be demed, that ony of thise desired of his frende that. whiche sholde be contrarye to his fayth. to his promysse or to his estate publyque, what nedith to speke of suche thynges of thise folkes which were so good and holy / ffor yf ony man hady desired ony suche thynge of them. he wold not haue obteyned it. ffor it is lyke offence to desire suche a thynge, to asseeth the same desire. What though Cueyus Carbo and Cueyus Cato. were of the the kende of Gracchus and Cueyus Frater / yet nold he is his grettest enemye. Therfor lete this nold in frendship be confermed, That we desire nothynges of his inhoneste. And though other folkes desire suche thynges of vs / that we agree not ther vnto. It is a foule excuse. and in no wise to be resceyued, ne

in that/ that touched our estate publyque/ ne yet in smaller offenses/ whan one saith / that for my frendes sake I dyde amys/ But we be brought to that plyght Faunyus and Scuola, that we haue grete nede to forsee right wel/ what shal nede to our estate publique/ ffor the goody custommes of our olders ley gretly sette a syde/ out of the place and waye, that they were in/ Titus Gracchus peyned hym self to be a kynge and regne vpon vs, and yf I shal saye more truly, he regned, though it were but felle monethes/ The people of Rome had not herd ne seyn a lyke thynge. And Gracchus frendes and kynnesmen after his deth/ folowed his stappes / I may not telle you without terys/ what they dyde ayenst Publius Scipio we endured Carbo/ of the whiche we spak right now/ for the nelle & fresshe payne, that Titus Gracchus suffred what we sholde loke after/ ffor the office of trybune, that Cueyus Gracchus occupieth. me lyst not to deuyne / But I see wel, the thyng crepeth/ the which whan it hath ones be bygone it fallith to redy destruccon/ Se ye not in your myndes. the spotte whiche is in the table before that it is made first causedy of the lake, whiche Gabynus made. And with in two yere by the lake that Gallius made/ me semeth that I see the people disseuerid from the Cene. And the gretteste thynge langynge to our estate publyque, spurtedy after the lyst of multitude/ that will haue them. And ther be moo that shal lerne / how suche thynges shold be practised/ Thenne how they sholde be letted, but to what entente saye I thus, but for this cause, that I wote wel ther is no man / that wille attempte so

grete Wethes . but he be sure of many felaws to assiste hym. Therfor thoos Whiche ben goody shold be aduerti; sed/ that yf they fallen vnwytyngly of ignoraūce in such maner of felawshipe / that they sholden trowe them self so bounden to suche frendys , that yf they trespace ayenst oure estate publyque / that they ne sholde departe from theym/ffor payne is alwey due to theym that offenden / And it is nolesse due to them that ben their felaws and parteners in the same Cryme/ than vnto them that were theyr leders , and setters on/ Who was clerer and more myghty in grece than Themystocles/ Whan he was Emperour/ he delyuerd alle grece of seruytude/ by the batnille Which he hadde ayenst them of perse/ Afterward for enuye / Whan he was putt in exile/ He suffred not the Wronge of his vnkynde cōntree. the Which/ he sholde in alle Wise haue suffred/ but dyde in lyke Wise there/ as Coriolanus dyde here With/ be not twenty yere a goo/ that coude not fynde one of his Cytezeyns/ that Wolde helpe hym in the warre ayenst his owen cōtree/ and therfor eyther of hem slough wilfully hym self/ Wherfore such conspiracye of them that ben noughty/ is not to be couerd and closed by thexcuse of frendshipe , but moche rather to be auenged of that No may sholde trowe that it is suffred or graunted/ that no frende sholde helpe another/ by colour of frendshipe/ Which Wolde Were vnto his owen contree/ ffor there be but fewe men that knowen/ Whan a thyng is bygonne/ What thende and thissue of the same shal be/ But as for me I take no lesse care to thynke , What oure estate publique shal be after my deth / than I doo thynke What it is at this daye/

Thenne late this first lawe of frendshyp be stablisshed. that we desire nothyng of our frendys. but that is worshipfull. ne doo nothyng for their sakes/ but suche as is acordyng to worship/ And yf we knowe ony such thyng lete vs tarye/ tyl we be prayed. but lete oure mynde and studye be sette all vpon it/ settyng all tarryeng a syde. lete vs be glad to yeue hem trewe counseill freely for the auctoryte of frendes in that. Whiche they aduyse wel/ helpeth gretly in frendshyp/ And somtyme that we shold aduertise them not openly/ but therwith sharply yf the cause requyre it/ And they shold obeye suche counseils dilygently. ffor I trowe dyuerse thynges right merueylous haue ben thought good, to suche men as emonge the grekes/ that haue ben callyd right wyse/ but ther is nothyng/ that they ne fynde som faute in by their wylles/ Som of them wolde / that a man shold eschewe ouer grete plente of ffrendes/ leste he allone shold be dryuen of necessite to take care for many/ it is ynowgh/ and to moche somtyme they saye/ to take hede to that. Whiche belongeth to a man hym self / And to peyneful to be medelous in other mennes maters/ and most behoefull to haue a slak reyne vpon frendshyp. That whan one wyll. he may restrayne it/ or lete it loos at his playsyr. And they seye/ the best thynge that may be to lyue welefully / is to be voyde of care/ And that may not a man be. that trauaylleth and medyth his mynde for many. And some I here saye. speke more vnaurtaysly / the whiche I haue somwhat saide sharply to fore / They saye that frendshyp sholde not be sought/ for the getyng of loue/ and goode wille/ but as

euery man is veryeſt and of leeſt power, ſo ſholde he ſeke
greteſt frendſhippis. or the frendſhippe of greteſt men.
And by this meane as J trowe / that Sely vymmen
ſholde rather deſire the helpe of frendſhip than men, And
alſo they that were nedy / rather than they that were riche / &
they that were wretchid / than they that were welefull. O
lorde what this is a noble wiſedom / forſothe they are a-
bowte to take the ſonne oute of the firmament / that wold
take frendſhip / fro the lyf of man, Syth we haue no-
thyng grauntedy vnto vs of gody in this lyfe bettir or
more Joyous, What is this quyetenes of ſpirite / that
they ſpeken of. At the firſt ſight it is blaudyſſhyng but
in tray de in many tymes and many places it is vt-
terly to be ſette a ſyde. Ne it is not accordyng, that ther
ſhold be ony worſhipfull thyng or dede that ye coude take
vpon you / or whan ye had it / to ſette it a ſide without care
& labourе of the mynde, ffor yf we will flee care we muſte
flee vertue, ffor vertue muſte nede haue ſome care to ſette
aſide thyngis contrarye to hym, as bounte to ſette a ſyde
malyce / Attemperaunce luſte / and force ſluggiſſhnes /
And that is the cauſe / that we ſee that they that be right
wys. ben moeſt ſory for the thynges / whiche be won vn-
rihtwiſly / And they that ben ſtronge for thynges won
vnluſtely. And they that ben attēperat for thynges won
vicyouſly, And therfor it is very propre to hym. that
hath a wel diſpoſedy courage, to be glady whan he ſeeth
thynges wel won / And to be ſory for the contrarye.
Thenne thus / yf a wiſeman may be ſory. the which muſt
be nedes trewe / or leſſe than we wille trowe, that ther is

no curtoſye in ony wiſe mannes breſte, What is the cauſe that we ſhold ſette a ſide frendſhip ſo that we ſhold ſuffre no pyne ne diſeaſe therfor. yf that we take fro man the moeuyng of his thoughtys, we ſhall not only take away the difference that is betwene hym and a beeſt, but therwith the difference that is betwene hym and a ſtocke or a ſtone/or ony lyke thynge. Ne they ſholdy not be herd that ſaye/that vertu is hard and as it were made of yron, ffor as it is in many other thynges, and in eſpecial in frendſhip, it is bothe tendre and tretable, So that for the wele of a mannes frende one enioyeth/& for his aduerſite he ſorweth/ Therfore this payne that is to be taken for our feendes/ ſuffyſeth not to dyſſeuere frendſhip for the lyf of man/no more than vertues. ffor that they can not be had without labour and payne. ſhold be by all men refuſedy/And ſythen vertue ſomtyme maketh frendſhyp to kepe her within her ſelf as I ſaid afore/yf ther be ony token of vertue the whiche may appere, to the whiche the corage may applye And in hym ſelf. as ſone as eure he atteyneth vnto it/it muſt nedys be that loue therof ſpryn-ge and growe/what may be more foolyſh. than the delyte in many vayne thynges, as in honour. and glorye. in byl-dyng/in clothynge/and in the array of the body/and not to delyte in corage enriched with vertu. whiche may loue. and may be reclaymedy to lyue vertuouſly/ Ther is no-thyng more pleſaunt/than the reward for goody wylle. or the nyghnes of ſtudyes/and ſeruyſablenes/And yf we adde this to that. whiche may right wel be addedy. that is to ſaye/ that ther is nothyng that dyſcreth ony thyng

vnto it/ne that holdeth it faste/than lyklynes draweth frendship. It shall be graunted forsothe as for trouth/ that they whiche ben good/loue goody folkes, and ioyne them vnto them/as yf they knytte vnto them in kynrede and nature, forsothe ther is nothyng more desyrous of his lyke and semblable. or more cachyng than is nature Therfor Faunyus and Seuola. I trowe verely. that this is certayne/that emonge them that ben goody/ther is a maner of necessarye benyuolence. the whiche is a veray naturel weel of frendship/but this same bounte bylongeth also to the multitude of the peple/ffor vertue is neyther vnaurtoyse ne rewardlees/ne proude, whiche is woonte alwey. in the beste wise to counsaille and to defende alle maner of paple/And that/verely shold not doo/yf she estraungedy her self fro the loue of the comunyte/Also me semeth. that they whiche will fourme frendship. after the shape of prouffyt/they ben aboute to take away the mooste amyable knotte of frendship/ffor the prouffyt that is goten by a mannes frende. is not so delectable vnto hym. as the loue of his frende/ffor thenne that. whiche cometh of his frende is Joyous vnto hym. whan he knoweth that it comyth of loue, And as gretly me thynketh discordyng with reason/that frendship sholdy only be vsedy for prouffyt. as that they whiche habounde in alle richesse and power. and in especial in vertu, in which is gretteste sikernesse. And they I saye whiche haue leste nede of ony mannes helpe. sholdy be most liberall, and gladeste to doo good dedes/And als ferre as I knowe. ther lacked nothyng emonge frendes/ffor aftir that the

loue of frendship grette bytwene me & Scipio/though he had had no nede of my counseile or my helpe. eyther outeward or at home, yet the frendshippis sholdy not haue ley the lasse, ffor this I saye you, that frendship folowyeth not prouffyte. but prouffyte folowyeth frendship, but tho men ley not to harde whiche folowe in delytes, whan that they will speke of frendship. of the whiche, they haue neyther vse ne knowleche, ffor who is that. that neyther coueiteth ne loueth ony othir man. ne is bylouedy of ony other man/though he had habondaunce of alle other thynges, andy were sette in moost folsom plente/how shold he lyue in this lyf that I spak of. is ther such lyf in tiraūtes in whom is no fayth ne loue/ne ther may be in them the stablenesse of benyuolence. or ony truste/ffor they haue euery thynge suspecte. andy ley full of thought andy care, Ther is nothyng ne no place in them for frendship Neuirtheles they be worshippidy for the tyme andy dissymyled with all/ ffor who sholde loue hym/ that is drade of alle men, andy dredeth alle men hym self/ Andy yf it fortune as it happeth ofte. that they falle from theyr astate. thenne it is wel vndirstande. how grete nede they haue of frendship. As it is remembraidy that Tarquynius saide. whan he was in his exile/that he vndirstode not, whom he myght truste. ne whom he myght mystruste/ Andy therfore he myght thenke alle men lyke. Though the pryde of this Tarquynius and his importunyte causedy hym, that he hady no frende/ ne men of his maners myght haue no frendes, for richesse andy power of them that be greetly myghty, eclude trusty frendshippes, ffor

fortune her self is not only blynde/which draweth to her
suche as be hir seruauntis and clymbe vp to estate with
lothnesse and contumacye of alle pepl. And ther is no
thynge more intollerable . than a infortunat foole/and
that may sone be seen/by them that haue ben passyng riche
that whan they haue be sette . in hygh estate. power and
dygnyte. theyr condicions haue ben clene chaunged/And
they haue forsaken theyr olde frendes / and taken theym
to newe/ What may be a more sonnyssh thyng than whan
men haue grete plente of richesse/to purueye such thynges
as they doo/that is to saye moneye . horses/stately hous;
holdes/riche clothyng/precious plate/and forgete to pur;
ueye them of frendes . which is beste & the fayrest orna;
ment / that ony man may haue in this lyf . ffor whan
they purueye. of the said thynges that I spak of byfore
They wote not / ffor whoos vse they purueye . ne for
whoos sake they take that labour vpon them . ffor alle
suche thynges falle for the more partye in to theyr handes
that be moost myghty/But the possessions of frendship
abyde certayn and stable to euery man/And though the
goodes of fortune abyde with a man duryng his lyf /
without frendship his lyf may neyther be fruytfull ne
mery. And this suffyseth as hyderto:

Reason wolde nolb that we putt thendes and
& boundes of frendship . lyke as they were the
termes and boundes of loue. of the which I
haue vndirstonde thre oppynyons/And of them I appro;
ue neuir one/One is that we sholdy loue our frende als

affectuously as our self, Another that our benyuolence ayenst oure frendes. may answere euenly to the benyuolence / Whiche they bere ayenst vs / The thirde. that whosomeuer one maketh moche of hym self, so moche he shold be made of. by his frendys. And I can not agree, with none . of thise thre opynyons, ne the fyrst of theym is trewe. ffor there be many thynges whiche we will not do for our self, that we do for our frendes/ That is to saye praye hym lowly that is byneth vs, or to speke sharply or to blame hym gretly/ the which thynges be not honest in our owen causes/ & ben most honeste in the causes of our frendes / There be also many thynges/ in whiche wel disposed persones take alwey moche of theyr owen prouffytes. And suffre to be taken away. ffor that theyr frendes shold vse them to theyr playsyre, rather than them self. That other opynyon is . Whiche diffyneth frendship by parilite of duete and playser . And forsothe that is to skante. to calle his frende so wyckedly to a counte / that the reason of that, Whiche is to taken/ and that whiche is to yeuen be euen. but veray frendship as it semeth me / it is rather and more plentyouse / ffor that taketh not so streyte hede / that there be gyuen no more than taken, Ne that feareth not to gretly/ lest that ony thynge excede/ and falle besyde/ or that yere be yeuen to a frende, no more than is nedeful and euen . The thirde terme or ende that they sette is worst of alle, And that is how moche a man maketh of hym self. so moche he shold be made of . by his frende, ffor ofte it happeth / that some persones, haue not so noble & so hye courage as some haue/ ne that haue not

so ferme hope of thencrece of fortune as som haue/therfor it sittith not a frende to be such one/ayenst any other man as he is ayenst hym self. But rather to payne hym self / and to doo so/that he maye lyfte vp the lolle courage of his frende. and may bringe hym better hope and more quycke remembraunce. But we muste lympte any other ende to frendship/But fyrst I shal telle you. What Scipio was wonte most to repreue/he seide. that myght in no wise be thought more ful of enemyte than the wise of hym. Which said that a man shold loue in such wyse, as yf it happeth hym somtyme to hate in the same place / ne he coude not byleue that Bias sholde saye so. Which was so wyse holde & one of the seuen wyse/holde be it that men trowed so/but that rather/it shold be the sayeng of somother Impure and ambycious persone / or of suche one / that wolde haue called alle thynge to his power, ffor in what wyse sholdy one be frende vnto hym, whom he hath in a wayte/And trolbeth alwey he sholdy be his enemye/ffurthermore it sholdy be necessarye to suche a man, to coueyte and desire, to take his frende ofte with defaultes, that he maye haue gretter cause to chyde hym/And besyde that it must nedes folowe / that they sholdy ofte take displesaūtly, and sorowe and enuye/when theyr frende doth wel And is in his wele. Therfore that precept Who so euer gaf it / was goody to sette frendship a syde. he sholdy haue rather haue commaundedy that we shuldy haue put to our dilygences, to haue goten many frendes leste we sholdy happen, to loue some one / Whom we

ſholde hate ſoone aftir. And Scipio thought that yf we were not alle thermoſt happy vnto frendes / we ſholde rather ſuffre it paciently . than thynke vpon the tyme / whan we ſholde be theyr enemyes / Therfore J trowe we ſhold vſe, and take this for the lymytes and boundes of frendſhip / that whan the maners of our frendes ben good, that we ſholde comune thenne with them, alle our counſeills thynges and pleaſirs without ony excepcion . that yf it ſhal happe by ony fortune, that theyr pleaſirs . which ben not alle the mooſt, leefful / And in theym the perylk of worſhip and fame dependeth / Jt is thenne for a frende / to kepe hym ſelf abſente / yf that he ſee that hys grete ſhame ſholde folowe therof, ffor though the erreur of a man may be pardonned in that / that he doth for his frende / yet a mannes owne fame ſhold neuer be foryeten . The benyuolence of peple muſt nedes be trowed a grete helpe, for the ſpede of promocyon of thynges / And yet to gete the ſame benyuolence / by meane of flaterye and aſſentacyon . is right folle and ſhameſull, vertue of whiche is but a felbe / is not to be ſette a ſyde / But nolb J tourne agayn to Scipio . whos ſpeche in ſub: ſtaunce was alle of frendſhip / ffor he complayned gretly . that men were moche more dilygente, in alle maner of thynges than in cheſyng of frendes . ffor eue: ry man coude telle . how many ſheep . and how many gheet he hadd / But how many frendes they hadd . they coude not telle, And to gete to them grete plente of be: ſtaylle / they tolie grete labour and payne . but in getyng of frendes . they ſhewed them / ſlowe and neclygente

Note

And byfore that they ſholde bye theyr leeſtys, they hade certayn markes / to knowe whether they were goode or noo, But in cheſynge of frendes, they can not take ſuche markes to knowe, whiche be to truſte and chooſe, and whiche not, Neuertheleſſe late vs ſaye, that they whiche be ſtable ferme and conſtaunt ben to be choſen for frendes, Of whiche maner of people, ther is grete ſcarcete, And certayn it is right harde for ony man, on leſſe he be experte, to diſcerne wel in ſuche cheſynges / ffor a man muſte take experyence, in the ſelf tyme of frendſhippe, and that is paſſyng harde, ffor frendſhip ſuffreth no ſuche eſſaye, it belongeth therfore a wiſeman to ſuffre the force of benyuolence, ſuche as he ſholde vſe, as he ſuffreth his ſhippe to ſaylle, And aſſaye the maners of his frendes in maner as he that eſſayeth his ſhippe in a tempeſt, Somme ben ſoone eſpyed in lytil habondauuce / how light they be, And ſome that wil not be meuid in lytil thynges ben knowen in gretter / It may happen ſome men to be founden, that wil deme it a foolhe thynge to ſette more by money, than by frendſhip / But where ſhal we fynde them, whiche wil not ſette more by worſhip / gouernaunce, ſouerayntes / power / and habondaunce of goodes, than by frendſhip, So that yf this thyng forſaid were ſette on that one ſyde, of a man, And frendſhip in that other ſyde / that wolde not chooſe rather worſhippes / gouernaunces / ꝛc than ſuche frendſhip / ffor ſothe nature is to weack to flee the deſyre of power and worſhip, and though men ſomtyme forȝete frendſhip to atteyne to a gretter auctorȝte, they trouble them ſelf in

that bybalue to fynde a good excuse. Whyle that they may saye/that they forgete not frendship. but for a grete and a worthy cause/Therfore no doubte of. it is passyng hard to fynde lesse frendship/in theym whiche ley conuersaūt in hye courtes/or in thastate publyque / ffor where maye we fynde hym. that will rather put his frende to worship than hym self. and to sette a syde alle suche thynges. holl greuous and holl hard it is semed to many to entre frendshipe with them whiche be in aduersyte. Ennyus said truly. whan he saide, a certayne frende is knowen in vncertayn seasons/But ther ley two thynges whiche proue in many men lyghtnes/and vnsurenesse. & that is whan they despise theyr frende for prosperyte, or forsake hym in aduersyte, Therfor who so euir can in eyther of tho two thynges shewe hym self witty stable & constant in frendship. we may Juge hym of that kynrede of men. whiche is moost seldom founde, I had almost saide that he is comen of goddes/ffeyth is foundement or sikernesse of the stablenesse & constaūce that we seken in frendship/ ffor ther is nothyng stable. that is feythles/ It is thēne cōuenient to chese a frende such as is not double. & thēne take prosperite & aduersite in comune with hym that chese seth hym. & can cōsente with hym in liuyng. & that can be meuid to lyke thyngis as he is meuid for a croked & a variaūt witte may neuir be feithful, ne he which is meuid to doo such thynges/as his frende is meuid to doo/or hath a lyke disposicion in nature. may eyther be siker or stable / And we may adde to this, that a frende. sholdy not delyte in complaynies to be brought vnto hym. or yeue credence

to ſuche as be brought vnto hym, Alle the whiche thyn-
ges appereyue to that conſtaunce that J ſpak of right
nowe. And ſo it is treuthe that J ſaide in the begynnyng
how frendſhip maye not be, but betweyne ſuche as ben
good. It ſitteth a goody man whom he may calle a wiſe
man to kepe two thynges in frendſhip, the fyrſt thynge
is that ther is nothynge feyned ne diſſymiled. ffor it ſit-
teth rather a worſhipfull perſone rather to ſhewe his diſ-
playſaunce & hate openly, than to hyde it with a ſleyghe
looke. The ſeconde is that a man ſhold not onely ſette a
syde ſuch complayntes as be brought to hym of his frende
but therwith ſette a syde all ſuch ſuſpecion as he myght
haue of his frende, by the whiche he ſholde moche trouble.
that frendſhip were huzte or defoylled. Alſo ther had nede
to be / betwene frendes a maner of ſweetneſſe of ſpeche
and maners / the whiche thynge maketh frendſhip not
a lytil the more ſauery / ffor ſorowe and ſeuerite ben in
alle wyſes to be eſchewed in frendſhip. Sorowe hath
greuoſneſſe Joyned with hym / And frendſhip ſholde
be the more remyſſe / more free, and ſweter, and more
redy to alle benygnite and facilite of maners / but nowe
in this place ther is a lytil hardy queſtion. Whether that
newe frendes, And ſuche as be worthy the name of
frendſhip / be / to be preferred a mannes olde frendes. As
we are not woonte rather to chese coltes, than horſes of
seuen yere for our wse / but ther ſhold no man doubte in this
ffor ther is not ſuche fulſomneſſe in frendſhip. as ther is
in other thynges / ffor frendſhip fareth as wine / which may
be kepte many yeres / ffor the more foylles / that the wyne

is of. the more pleſaunt it is in drynkyng/And ſothe it is that is ſaidy. how men maye ete many buſſhellis of ſalt. or they parfyte or accomplyſſhe theyr dutee of frendſhip. The noueltees of frendſhip ſhold not be forſakey/yf that they be ſuche, as a man may hope wel of. nomore than neWe herbes, Whiche deceyue not men of ſuche fruyt as they ſhall brynge forth/But thantyquyte of frendſhip ſholdy be kept alWey in his oWne place. ffor the force of Antyquyte andy cuſtomme is alWey gretteſt, yf no thynge lette it, as I made mencion right noW of the hors, ffor there is no man. but hady leuer ride Vpon ay hors that is brokey. Andy knoWeth his hondy on the brydle / than Vpon that, Whiche is not brokey. or on Whoos bak he cam neuir byfore / Soo cuſtomme hath grete ſtrength not only in keeſtys. But alſo in thynges Whiche haue noo felynge, ffor We delyte Vs in holy places / Andy ſuche as ben ſetté in Woodes / in Whiche We haue longe dWellidy / but the chief thynge, that is in frendſhip / Whan he that is in ſuperyorite lykeith to make hym ſelf egall With his frendes. oftyme. There ben certayne excellences ſuche as Scipio hady in oure companye / Andy yet he putt Philus and Rutilyus / Andy Mummyus euer afore hym / Andy dyuerſe other of his frendes. Whiche Were of loWer eſtate. Andy he Worſhippidy Quintus his oldeſt brother. Whiche Was nothynge lyke hym / As his better by reaſon of his age, Andy he coueytedy to haue alle his frendes in gretter reuerence andy in more ample eſtate thay hym ſelf. In Whiche thynge / euery man

folowe Scipion so yf they haue goten the preemynence of vertue, of nature, or fortune, they shold departe it with theyr frendes. Andy comyne with them / that ben nyght to them, As yf they be born of lowe kynne / or yf they haue weake frendes. they shold eyther by meane of counseill, or by meane of liberalyte encreace theyr hauours, as it is tolde in the fables / how certayne men were receyued in to seruyse. theyr byrthe and kynne vnknowen. Andy at laste it was founden. andy they knowen for the sones of goddes andy kynges / Andy yet kepe & now theyr fauour and good will to suche shepherdes as yet lyue. and hady theyr faders dede many yeres passyd/ the whiche thynge is moche rather to be doo/ ayenst suche as haue faders knowen andy certayne. The grettest fruyte of naturel vertue, andy alle excellence is thenne taken, When it is youen andy departedy to theym that be next in frendship andy goody wille, Andy they that ben soueraynes, in the nyghnesse of frendship andy ioyne goody wylle. shold make them self egall with theym. that ben lower than they / so as they that be bynethe theym. haue no cause to sorowe. that they be ouercomen by theyr frendes, in wisedome / fortune. or estate / Of the whiche for the more parte / many complayne vpon suche thynges or obreyde theyr frendes therwith / Andy so moche the rather. they thynke theyr frendes so moche more byholden to theym. that they may telle how studyously. how frendely and laboryously they haue doon for theym. In goody trouthe it is an hatefull maner of men/ whiche lyste ofte to obreyde theyr frendes

of ſuch thynges as they do for theym. ffor he that receyueth ſuche benefaytes ſholde remembre. and not he that gaf theym. Therfore they that are the ſouerayns, owe to ſubmytte theym ſelf in frendſyp, and in maner exalte theym, Whiche be lower than them ſelf, But ther be ſome that maken frendſhip right greuous. When they trowe that men ſette lytle by theym. And that happeth not comunely. but in ſuch as trowe theym ſelf that they ſholde be lytil ſette by. And they ſholde be eaſed of that opynyon. not only in wordes but in dede/We ſhulde yelde vnto euery frende/firſt als moch as he myght ſuſteyne & receyue, Whom we loue and wil helpe/ffor we may not do vnto our frendes by our meanes ouer moch ample worſhipes. As Scipio Whiche myght by his meanes make Publius Rutilius Conſulk/but he myght not make his brother Lucius ſo/And What yf we myght do ſo to ony other/yet it is to be ſeen/Whether he may wel take it vpon hym/The Jugement of frendſhip ſholde alwey be hady/When the wyttes of thaages of men be in grete teſt force. and moſt hole and ſyker. ffor it is not ſpedeful/that yf ony childerry in the thendreneſſe of theyr yeres haue lyke corage and diſpoſicion/to pleyeng atte tenyce or huntyng/that they haue theym in mooſte nygh of courage, and chief of fauour Whiche be of ſemblable deſires and ſtudyes/or by that reaſon nourices and Scolemaiſtres by reaſon of olde ſeruyſe muſte aſke kenyoleuer right largely/And they ſhold not be forgoten. But there is maner in the cheriſſhyng of theym Without comformyte of maners/ffor frendſhip may not

be stable. ffor the dyuersyte of maners causeth the dyuersyte of loues, ffor as symylytude ioyned frendshippes/ so dissimylytude disseuerith them. And it is for none other cause/that good men may neuir be frendes With suche as be noughty/ But for that/that there is als grete a distaunce/or difference bytwene theyr maners and studyes Also it may be a good precept in the lawe of frendship, that no man by a maner of his intemperate benyuolence lette the grete Wele. that sholdy growe to his frendes/ ffor yf I shal turne agayn to fables. Nepthylonins myght neuir haue Wonne Troye/ yf he Wolde haue herde licomedes/ in Whoos hous he Was nourisshedy, Whiche labouredy With shedyng of many teerys to haue lettedy his purpos. ffor oftymes grete thynges happen casuelly to make men departe fro theyr frendes. And many these for to departe rather than they shold be letted of theyr purpos/Without hieryng of theyr frendes / leste yf they herde them. they coude not saye nay to theyr desires. And suche a man Who so euir he be/is of ouer freall/and ouer softe a nature / And for that cause he is not veray Juste in frendship, But it is to be considered in euery thynge, What he aske of our frende, And What he Will suffre to be askedy of our self & assethedy/ Ther is also a certayne calampte or obscurite full oftymes necessarye in departyng of frendshipis, But now oure speche is & shall falle from the famylyarytees of Wise men to comune frendlyhedes, The defaWte of frendes brekie oute and shewe as Wel to them Which be ioyned to theym in frendship/as to other folkes in the disclaundre therof, and redoundeth not only vnto

them. Whiche haue the same vices / But also to theym Whiche be theyr frendes. And suche frendshippis shold be easedy lytyl and lytyle by slackinesse of customme and familyarite/ And as I haue herd Cato saye, they sholdy rather be vntrisped, than vnte asondre on lesse than suche wronge, as may not be sufferedy dissevere the said frendship. so that it sholdy be thought neythez reasonable ne worshipfull ne that it myght be other wise/ but that the saidy estraungyngy and disionction muste forthwith be made/ But take me nowe as I said a lytyle byfore/ that I speke not nowe of the frendshippes of wise men. but of the comune frendshippes yf ther happen to be a maner of chaunge, in maners andy studyes, as it happeth ofte. ffor such debate as falleth in the partes of our estate publyque it is to be taken hede of. Thise frendshippes only be not layd a part, but that grete enemytees be taken in honde z bygonne. And yet ther is nothynge forsothe more folle than to make werre with hym, with whom we haue lyued alwey byfore familyarly/ Ye knowe wel / how Scipio departed from the frendship of Quintus Pompeus for my sake/ And how he was estraungedy from his felawe named Metellus/ for suche debate as was in oure estate publyque/ And he dyde in bothe thynges wittyly/ And by no sharp auctorite or offencion of his courage propre/ But herfore I saye, we sholde take grete hede. that ther falle no debates emonge oure frendes, And yf ther happen ony such thynges/ we shold labourr that frendship shold rather be softly quenchidy than oppressyd. We sholde in alle wise be ware. leste grete frendshippes torne them self in to grete

enemytees/of the whiche/debates/curſed wordes and ſtry-
ues enſiewe. Neuirtheles yf they be tollerable/they muſte
be ſuffred, And we ſhold yeue this worſhip to olde frend-
ſhip.that he be thought rather in the blame that doth the
wronge/than he that ſuffreth it/There is one prouyſyon
& one meane to bewarre of alle ſuche vices.and incommo-
dytees. And that is that we be not to haſty in the ſet-
tyng of our loue/ne that we loue ſuche/as be not worthy
to be louedy / They ben worthy frendſhip in whom ther be
worſhipful cauſes/whiche ſholde make vs to loue them.
but they be ſelde founden, And ſo be alle thynges whiche
be worſhipful. And ther is nothynge more harde to fynde
than that whiche is parfyt in his owen kynde / in euery
behalue. But for the more part/men lyſte to call nothyng
goody in humayne thynges / but ſuche as is fruytfull.
And ſo they loue their frendes.as they loue their beeſtys
ffor ſuch as they ſuppoſe, they ſhal haue mooſt fruyte of
them they chereyſſhe mooſt, And therfor they lacke the
mooſt natureli and fayreſt frendſhip, whiche is not to be
deſiredy, but by hit ſelf/and for hit ſelf/This is the ver-
ry force of frendſhip/and the qualite, and the quantite
of the ſame euery man loueth hym ſelf/and loketh aftir
no reward for his loue/ffor euery man for his owen ſake
is dere ynough to hym ſelf. And onleſſe that the ſaidy
and the ſame derneſſe and loue may be vſed in frendſhip
a verray frende ſhal neuir be founde, ffor he is as though
it were another than the ſame/And yf that appereth in
beeſtys and fowles bredyng in the woodes.or in the wa-
ters tame or wilde. that fyrſt they loue theym ſelf / ffor

that is a thyng, that is innate vnto eueriche that hath lyf Secundly that they seke and desire suche kestys as they wolde couple them self with, and be of the same kynde / And that they do with grete desire, and with a maner of lykenesse of the loue of men. how moche more it is causedy by nature in a man, that he sholde loue hym self/ and gete hym another / whos wille he sholdy medle with his / that of tho tweyne he sholdy make wel nygh one. But many men ful cursedly / I wil not saye vnshamefastly, refuse to haue suche a frende. ffor they can not be suche one theym self. And they desire of theyr frendes suche thynges/as they wolde not departe with them self / at theyr frendes desire / It is resonable that a man first make hym self a goody man, and thenne seke another lyke hym self. And in suche tweyne that stablenesse of frendship that we trete of byfore may be confermed, when men ioynedy to gydre in benyuolence can gete the souereynte of suche lustes/as other men be seruauntes vnto, and sette theyr ioye in equyte and Justice/ Thenne that one shal haue of that other/but that, whiche is rightuoy and worshipful, ne they shal not only eyther of them worshippe other. but therwith they shal loue to gyders with a maner of shamefastnesse, ffor who so euir taketh away shamefastnesse from frendship, taketh awey the gretteste ornament that frendship hath, Therfor ther is grete and malycious errour in theym, whiche trowe surely that frendship yeueth fredom & lyberte to alle luste And syn syth frendship is ordeyned by nature to be the helper of vertue/and not the felawe to vyce, ffor solytary

vertue may not it self atteyne to such thynges as ben hyg-
hest, but ioynedy and felawshipped with other, it myght
atteyne, the whiche felauship yf it be/haue ben/or shal be
betwene ony men, that felauship is to be holden & repu-
ted best/and moost blessyd to brynge theym to the hyghest
weele of nature/In this I saye is the felauship/in which
alle thynges ben/which men coude suppose shold be desired
And that is worship/glorye/and dy thease of spirytc and
Joyousnesse/And where thise thynges be/the lyf is bles-
syd/And without theym it ne may be blessyd. Thenne
syth that it is beste and moost chief, yf we wil atteyne
ther vnto/We must yeue our self to vertue/without the
whiche we may neyther come by frendshipne no thynge,
that shold be of vs desired, ffor vertu- sette a syde/who som
euer troweth that he hath frendes. he shal thene knowe fyrst
how he is deceyued/when he is constrayned to assaye ad-
uerse fortune/Therfor we may saye. when ye haue preued.
thenne loue, And not when ye haue loued. thenne to preue
But syth we be punyssheddy for our neclygence in many
thynges/yet we be chiefly punyssheddy for the neclygence
of the worshippyng and louyng of our frendes in our ad-
uyses takyngy, we vse a contrary ordre/ffor though we be
entrikied by one meane/or by another, eyther by longe fa-
mylyarite/or with thadmynystracon of oure dutees/yet
we breke sodeynly in the mydes of our frendshippis, som
tyme for lytil offence. And so grete a neclygence in that
thyng/that is moost necessarye/is gretely to be dispray-
sedy/ Frendship forsothe is the thynge to be sette allone
in thastate of man, and dy thutilite of commodyte. whers

alle men ben of one oppinyon, though the same vertue be despised of many Whiche calle it, but a thynge sette to sale and ostentacion There be many that despyse richesse And they ben suche as holde theym content With lytil. And delyte them in poure food and poure arraye, And some despise worship. by the desyre of Whiche, many men ben sette, a fyre And suche men trowe as despise it, that ther is nothynge more Wauerynge ne more vnstable than the same, And so it happeth in other thynges many men sette no prys by that / that other men make moost of, But alle men acorde in thoppinyon of frendship, ffor they that yeuen them self to thastate publyque, or they that delyte them in the knowleche and doctryne of many thynges. And they that ben besyly occuppyed aboute theyr owne erandes / And yf I shal ioyne them to the remenaut / they that yeuen them self alle to lustes and delytes / trowe and fele that ther is no lyf Withoute frendship, namely yf they Wil lyue in ony parte lyberally and Joyously / Frendship crepith I Woote not how in to the lyues of alle men, And it suffreth none age be partelees of hym, but yf so be that ony be of sharp or cruel entente and nature. that he flee and hateth the meryng & felawship of men / so as one dyde at Athenes a namelees man almoost, sauf that he hyght Thymo, yet he myght not suffre / but that he muste haue one to disclose vnto. the horribylyte of his sharp lyf. And this myght be best proued / yf it myght happen / that god Wolde take vs from the conuersacion of men, and sette vs somWhere in Wyldernesse / And there yeue vs habundance and plente, of

alle thyng that nature coude deſyre. And therwith take from vs the ſight and vſe of alle men. Who coude be fou; re ſo harde that coude endure that lyf . or fro whome that beyng allone ſhold not take the fruyte of alle pleſaunce. Therfore it is ful trewe that Tarentinus Archita was wonte to ſaye/the whiche our olders were wont to telle vs/as they herde telle of theyr olders . yf ony man hady aſcended in to heuen. and beholden the nature of the world And the beaute of the ſterres. that whiche he had ſeen of meruey le. ſholde be in no wiſe pleſaunt to hym / yf he hady none/to whom he myght diſcloſe that he had ſeen/the which thynge elles/that is to ſaye . yf he had a frende to whom he myght diſcloſe it / that ſholdy be to hym the thynge of mooſt ſouerayne pleſaunce . So nature loueth nothynge that is ſolytary. ffor it leneth alwey to ſome one thyngy that it wil reſte vpon. And where can it more ſurely reſ: te/than in that thynge. whiche is mooſt frendely to it / But whan nature declareth by ſo many ſygnes/what ſhe wolde haue/what ſhe ſeketh/and what ſhe deſireth/we weye nef/I woote not how/for we wil not here/whan ſhe aduer: tyſeth vs. The vſe of frendſhip is dyuerſe & manyfolde and ſo there be many cauſes of ſuſpecion and diſpleſaunce the whiche to eſchewe/to eaſe/and to bere/is a wyſe man : nes parte/But ther is one maner of diſpleſaunce . that ſhold be paciently born/And that is whan one frende for the proffyte & feyth which ſhuld be reteyned in frendſhip ſuffreth a maulgre. ffor frendes ſhulde ofte be warned & blamed reſonably/And ſuch warnynges and blamynges ſholdy be taken benyuolently & frendely. But I woote not

how it is treuthe/that Terence sayth in his comedye named Andria/folowyng of playser geteth frendes/And trouthe hate. Trouthe is greuous/for of it cometh hate/ Whiche is the poyson of frendship/but folowyng of playsyre. is moche more greuous. Whiche suffreth synne vnblamedy/and maketh a mannes frende renne hedlynges in to myschief/But the gretteste faute that maye be in a man/is to despise trouthe/and to be by folowyng of playsire wilfully led in to deceyte. Therfore diligence and reason is to be had in this byhalue. ffirst that our aduertisement to oure frende be not sowre/And next that/blamynge be withoute chydyng/And lete vs vse kenygnyte in folowyng of playsyr/That wordy I vse gladly/syth Terence vsid the same/But byfore alle thyng/lete vs flee assentacion in frendship/ Whiche is the promoter of vice/the whiche not onely a frende. but euery goody man sholde eschewe it/It is not all one to lyue with a tiraunt and to lyue with a frende/but close his eeres/whan it is spoken/his heale is to be dispraysedy/ Of the sayeng of Cato is wel knowen. how sharpe enemyes/meryte moche more of some men/ than suche as semen theyr swete frendes/ffor the fyrst saye for the more parte trouthe/ And that other neuir. And that is a folyle thynge that they whiche be amonesshyd by theyr frendes/ take not suche displesaunce/as they shulde take/but take suche displesaunce as they shold lacke/ffor it greueth them not/that they haue synnedy. but it greueth them gretly to be blamed for it/And it shold be alle other wyse/ffor they shold sowle for theyr offence/and be glad to to corrected/It is verray

propre to frendſhip/ to warne and to be warned/& he that is the warner ſholde warne benygnely, curtayſly/and not ſharply/And he that is warned/ſhold take it pacyently & not obſtynatly/Thus we ſholde holde, that ther is not a greter ſore in frendſhip, than adulacion, flatery/& aſſentacion: loo how many names this vyce hath, hit ſytteth to ſuche men, as ben lyght & receyuable, to ſaye alle thyng acordyng to playſyr: and nothyng to trouthe/ſyth the dyſſymylyng in alle thynge is vicious. ffor it taketh away and corrupteth the Jugement of trouthe, yet in eſpecial it is vicious, for that it is ſo contrary to verray frendſhip/ ffor it ſetteth a ſyde trouthe, without the whiche, frendſhip may be of no valewe. ffor ſyth the force of frendſhip reſteth in that, that one wylle ſhold be made of many wylles/ how maye it be ſo made, yf one wille be not in one man, ne yet the ſame alwey, but variaunt, manyfolde: and meuable, what thyng may be ſo flexible or ſo redy to bowe, as the wille of hym that is redy to chaūge, not only by the felyng and the wille of another man: but alſo at his chere & contenaūce, Some men wil denye this. Wel J denye it, he ſayth ſo; J ſaye the ſame/but what ſayth he. J haue mayſtredy ſo my ſelf/that J wil aſſente in alle thynges/as the ſame Terence ſayth, but J ſpeke this in the perſone of Enato/but to entende to this maner of frendſhip, hit becometh beſt ſuch as be lyght/Ther be many lyke Enato, whan they be in place of fortune & fame aboue other/but theyr aſſentacion is to greuous/ namely whan auctorite is ioyned to vanyte/but a flatering frende/may as wel be knowen & vnderſtanden from a treſſe frende, yf a may put to due dilygence/as alle

thynges which he coloured & dyssymiledy maye he knowen
fro suche as he pure & verray in that coũseill that restedy of
leest wise men/ one may soone put difference betwene hym
that is a flaterer, & a lyght eyezeyn, & hym that is con-
staũt sadde & wytty, with what flatery entrydy Cneyus
papirius in to the eares of our coũseyll, whan he brought
in the lawe to renouelk the trybunes of the peple, but we ad
uertisedy the contrarye, of my self I will not spelke/ but of
Scipio with a good will/ O almyghty gody how grete
wytte, & how grete mageste was in his oracion/ that men
shold rather take hym for a prynce, than for a felowe of the
peple of rome/ but ye were presente, & his oracõn is in your
hondes / so that lawe / that sholdy haue be made for the fa
uour of the peple, by the suffrages of the same people was
putt a backe/ but now to torne agayn/ where I was ye be
wel remẽbredy/ But Quintiuus maximus brother to
Scipio, & Lucius Manilius beyng cõsules. how gretely
plesaũt was semed in the lawe made by Cneius lucinius
Crellus entitledy de Sacerdocijs to the peple. where
the reformacion of the collegis was brought to the bene-
fayte of the peple, And he ordeygnedy fyrst to haue to do
in his cause with the people in the open place, and yet the
relygion of the godes Inmortall my self defendyng it.
ouercam lyghtly his lendyble oracion, & that was done
by me whyles I was preter, so that cause was rather de-
fended for the Justnesse of it/ than by ony hye auctorite.
Thenne yf so be that in that place. Where that oure
tragedyes ben playedy / Where that countrefete and
colouredy thynges haue grete place. that it which is

next the trouthe is moſt p[re]yſed. yf it be ſhewed & repre-
ſented as it ſhold be/What trowe ye thenne ſhold be doon
in frendſhip. Whiche is all apparceyued by trouthe/by the
whiche frendſhip/onleſſe thay ye ſhewe your breſte openne
& bare to you agayn[st] ther may nothyng be ſykker & ſure by
twene you/Ne ye may not loue verily/ne be loued verily
agayn/& yf ye vnderſtande not verily/how this is trewe
take ye hede. ffor though aſſentacion of flatery be in it
ſelf curſed/yet it hurteth noman/onleſſe thay he wilfully
receyue it. & delyteth hym in it. & ſo it is that he that fla-
terith hym ſelf. is moost redyeſt to heere flaterye/& hath
grettest playſyr in hym ſelf/but vertue loueth alwey her
ſelf beſte/& holy amyable ſhe is/But I ſpeke not now of
vertue it ſelf / but of thoppynyon that is had of vertue
ffor many ther be/that ſette not ſo moche by vertu it ſelf.
as that they may be semed vertuous, & flaterye pleſyth
ſuche men gretely/And whan feyned wordes ben applyed
to theyr playſyrs, they trowe that ſuche feyned ſpeches
ben ſufficient witneſſe of theyr preyſynges/Therfor by-
twene them is no frendſhip/whan that one will not he-
re trouthe. and that other is redy to byleue the mery fla-
terye of the ſmylynge feeſtes in oure comodyes/whiche
wil not do half wel, onleſſe thenne that there were glo-
ryous knyghtes. whan one aſked. yf his ſouerayne coude
hym grete thanke/he anſwerith. ye paſſyng grete thanke
where it ſhold ſuffiſe to anſwere/thanke/ſo the flaterer eue
encreaceth that thyng/that he wold haue encreced for whos
playſir he ſayeth it/therfor though this wete vanyte be of
grete force to lede & drawe to ſuch folkes as haue playſyr in

hit/Neuertheles they whiche be more wytty and more con/
staunt shold be aduertised/that they haue them self in a
wayte / that they ne be taken by suche wyly assentacion,
Ther is no man. but he seeth openly a flaterer on lesse
than he be a foole/or wytlees/but lete vs be warer/lest he be
subtyll & by fer sette meanes sette vpon vs/And thenne
he is not passyng easy to be knowen/ffor somtyme he will
trauerse a mannes wille/and fynally assente & make.
as though he dyde stryue. And yet he flatereth/And atte
laste he will gyue vp his cause/and suffre hym self to be
ouerthrowe/to that entente. that he which is mocked/may
seme hym self more valyaunt/but what maye be folbler/
than to be mocked/Therfore we ought to be the better ware
re/that it happen not vn to vs, There was one saide. I
wolde ye had seen me this day byfore al my frendes/And
byfore alle suche as loue me/men of grete worshyp & age
And holde plenteuously I lyue emonge theym/but it fa=
rith by this man. as it is saidy in the fables/The moost
fonnyssh persones representé such aged men/as lacke for
syght/& ben hasty of credence, but I wote not by what me=
ane/our speech is fallen from the frendshippes of such men
as ben parfyght. that is to saye whyse/I speke of that wi=
sedom/that men may atteyne to light frendshippes/Ther=
fore lete vs turne agayn. to the fyrst frendshyp we spekē
of & conclude therin. I saye Eneus Faunyus, & Quin
tus Mucius. it is the chief vertue whiche geteth frend=
shippes/& cõcerueth them/ffor in vertu is the cõuenyence of
thynges/the stablenes & constaũce. & whan she exalteth &
shewyth her owen lyght/and whan she seeth & knoweth the

ſame in another, ſhe draweth it ſtoundmele vnto her. and taketh ſo the ſame that is in another. Wherof loue and frendſhip of ſuche knyttynges of good willis is ſette on fyre, ffor both Amor and Amicicia ben deryued of Amando. And what is to loue / ony ellys but for to loue ſuche as haue none Indygence. noo ſeknyng of prouffyt. though it flouryſſhe & floure, it cauſeth the to loue hym of ſuche frendſhip. Alſo it is cauſed thaugh ye eaſely folowe it, that the yonge men haue louedy thiſe men whiche were right aged, Lucius Paulus, Marcus Cato Cucius Gallus. Publius Nallica. Titus Gracchus fader in law to our Scipio, but frendſhip ſhewed moſt bryght. Whan it is emonges them whiche ben of egall yeres, as bytwene me & Scipio, Lucius Fucius Publius Rutilius and Spurius Mummus Some whyle the aged men vſe in the benyuolence of them, whiche ben toward the worldy, as it fareth by me, whiche delyte in the famylyarite of Quintus Tubero. Whiche is as who ſayth yonge. And Publius Rutilius, ffor it is acordyng to the reaſon of oure nature and lyf, that one age ſucede another, but we ſhold naturelly moſte deſire that we myght come alwey, at the heles of theym, that we were lete out with to roue firſt, but ſyth the thynges of men ben freal & fallyng / we ſholde peyne vs / to gete ſome ſuche, as we myght loue truly. And of whom we myght be alſo trewly beloued men / ffor whan loue and benyuolence ben taken alwey from oure lyf, alle gladnes and comforte goth with the ſame. ffor Scipio though he were ſodeynly take alwey fro me, as to me warde

he lyueth. and euir ſhal lyue / ffor I loued the vertue of
that man, whiche can not be eptynct. ne I haue not onely
that vertue. alwey in my ſyght. whiche I haue founde al
wey redy at my honde / but therwith the ſame is left nota-
ble and clere to theym that ſhal come after me / ffor there
ſhal neuir man take vpon hym ſo grete thynges / but that
he ſhal moche trowe, that the remembraunce and Jmage
of Sapio, ought to be called to his mynde / Therfore of
alle thynges / whiche fortune or nature hath graunted
me / I, haue nothyng that I may compare with the frend-
ſhip of Sapio / ffor in that frendſhip I fonde the com-
fortes of oure eſtate publyque, and in the ſame I fonde al
wey coũſeil redy for ſuche thynges as bilonged to my ſelf
And in that ſame I fonde reſte / fulle of alle delectacyon
And I neuir offended hym in ſo lytil a thynge as coude
be ymagyned als ferre as I coude feele / Ne I herde neuir
thynge of hym / that I wolde not haue herd. We dwellyd
in one hows. Oure maner of lyuynge was alle one / In
tyme of werre we were to gydres / In talkyng of our diſ-
putes and pylgremages doyng we neuir diſſeuered / And
what ſhal I ſaye of our ſtudyes / the whiche we vſed to
knowe or to lerne alwey ſomwhat. and in the which, whan
we were fro the ſyght of the peple. we ſpente alle our boy-
de tymes / And yf the remembraunce & hye memorye hade
dyed with hym / I myght in no wiſe here the abſence of
hym. to whom I was mooſt nygh knytte, & he of me beſt
beloued / but theſe thynges be not dede / but rather norys-
ſhed & encreaced by the thought & remembrauce that I haue of
hym. & though alle tho thynges were take away fro me / yet

myn age doth me grete comforte/I may not now longe lyue in this desyre. Alle shotte thynges / though they be grete/they shold be tolerable. Thise thynges I haue hady Whiche I myght saye vnto you of frendshyp. Now I exhorte you / that ye so sette vertue / without the whiche / frendshyp may not be, that except the same ye deeme that nothynge may be better than frendshyp.

Thus endeth this boke named Tullius de Amicicia / Whiche treateth of frendshyp vtterly and declared by a noble senatour of Rome named Lelyus vnto his two sones in lawe also noble men of rome named Fannyus & Scuola. In which they desyred hym to enforme them of the frendshyp/that was bytwene the said Lelius and the noble prynce Scipio African. Wherin he hath answered & tolde to them the noble vertues that ben in frendshyp And without vertue veray frendshyp may not be. as he preuyth by many exsamples and notable conclusions as here to fore is moch playnly expressyd & said all a longe/ Whiche werke was translated by the vertuous and noble lord and Erle/therle of Worcestre. on whoos sowle I becheese almyghty gody to haue mercy, And alle ye that shal rede or here this said werke of your charyte I beseche you to praye for hym. And by cause this said book de Amicicia is ful necessarye and requysyte to be hady and knowen. I haue putt it in emprynte, to thentent, that veray Amyte and frendshyp may be had

as it ought to be in euery estate and degree/And vertue
Without Which frendship may not be had·may be encre-
ased, and vices eschewid·Thenne When I had enprynted
the book of olde age, Which the said Tullyus made/me
semed it acordyng that this said booke of frendship
shold folowe, by cause ther can not be anneyed to olde age
a better thynge/than good and very frendship. Which two
said bokes here to fore Written ben of grete Wisedom and
auctorite/And full necessarye Wholesom and requysite
vnto euery age estate and degree/And that they prouf-
fyte in entreatyng of vertue, I beseche the blessyd Try-
nyte to geue and graunte vnto alle them that shal rede
& here thise bokes/And so to flee & eschewe vices & syn-
nes/that by the merytes of vertuouse honeste, and goody
Werkes, We may atteyne after this shorte, transytorye lyf
the eternall blessyd lyf in heuen/Where is ioye and glorye
Without ende. Amen.

Here foloweth the Argument of the declamacyon/ Which laboureth to shewe, Wherin honoure sholde reste:

Whan Thempyre of Rome moste flou=
red, And was in the age of his force and
strengthe. The fame of one named Ful=
geus, was right ferre spredde to his grete
worshipp. ffor he was right curous to ri=
chesse/ honoure, and frendshipp. Also gretly riche as wel of the grace and goody wille of alle the Cyteseyns of Rome, as of other gyftes of fortune/ And he had by his wyf named Claudea a doughter of surmountyng beaute called and named Lucrelle/ Which was thonly hope of his comforte and sustentacion in the yeres of his age, fer besyde her marueyllous beaute. Wherin she excelled alle the vyrgyns of Rome in tho dayes. Ther was in her so gre=te attemperaūce of lyf/ With so worshipful conduyt of ma=neres/ so grete force of wisedom/ With so plenteuous vnder=standyng of lecture/ that it shewed her to lacke nothyng/ that coude be wylled or wisshed ony worshipful creature to haue of honoure or vertue/ Neuertheles emong many that hertly loued her, ther were tweyne in especial. Which dayly more & more/ brenned in the loue of fayre Lucrelle. And bytwene them was lytil differrence in semelynesse of persone or age. But theyr maners and fortune were gretely different. The one of them and the fyrst was named Publyus Cornelius/ of the worshipful hous

and ſtocke called Cornelij. And he habounded gretely in the goodes of fortune. ffor though he was noble of byrthe Yet therto he was gretely ſtuffed of Richeſſe. Well furnyſſhed of frendes/his houſholde plenteouſly garnyſſhed of ſeruauntes / and all apparaylmentys in thoſe dayes vſed/And his grete ſtudye reſted in huntyng. haukyng ſyngyng/& diſporte. That other & the ſeconde whiche hyght Gayus Flamyneus was born of a lower ſtocke. And he had moderate Richeſſe, reſonable plente of that/as apperteyned to an houſholde / or thapparaylyng of the ſame/holde he it / he had moch better & more vnſhipfull fortune. And that not withſtondyng he ſhewed hym ſelf neuir the more ſlack in that he ſhold do. Payneyng hym ſelf alwey to floure in vertue and good maners, but his grete ſtudye was with his dilygence and ſeruyſe. to helpe his frende and contrey / whan eyther of them had nede of his helpe. In tyme of warre he ſhewed hym ſelf manly & corageo9. And in tyme of peas right buſye and laboryous in his offices, ſo that in tyme of warre he was furnyſſhed of counſeylle. And he counſeylled nothynge but ſuche as hym ſelf ful lykte a man wolde take his parte in, he excellyd gretely in attemperaunce of lyuyng. prudence/and eloquence/aboue that. it was credyble/or coude be ſuppoſyd in ony of his yeres / And of the ſaid noble vertues, he was gretely prayſed of alle the people of Rome. Hit fortuned thiſe two yonge men. to mete of auenture at the hous of this Fulgeus/fader vnto fayre Lucrelle/theyr ententes and cauſes of comynge lykte as it was proued by theyr ouerture/was that eyther

of theym desired in as goodly langage as he coude, the good Will and parfyght fauour of Fulgeus. touchyng his doughter Lucrelle/so as she myght owe her fauour to hym in especiall byfore ony other/Thus eyther of theym desired Lucrelle/and her fader vnderstandyng theyr playsyrs Wente for to haue speche With his doughter/to thentente to gyue theym answere. And Whan he had declared to fayre Lucrelle the honorable desires of thise two lusty ponge Romaynes/And consydered Wel that his doughter Was in the flour of her yeres/he yaf to her his fadrely aduys· that she shold entende to maryage/& sette her herte vpon one of thies tweyne. that is to saye Publius Cornelius or Gayus Flamyneus / And Lucrelle first With a shamefast countenaunce. Whan she herde her faders declaracyon and aduyse· excused her full humbly and Womanly shewyng her self to be alle other Wise sette/But her fader charged her so streytly, that her excuse in that byhalue. myght take no place/Ne other meane Was none. but that she muste chese one of thise tweyne. that is to Wytte/eyther Publius or Gayus· And thenne delybera on takey With her self/this Was her fynal answere/

Thanswere of Lucrelle vnto her fader.

Yght Worshipful fader of me youre humble
r doughter best byloued and moost drad. I dar
in no Wyse disobeye youre commaundement ye;
uen vnto me/on your blessynge/I praye you
chese for me· and to your sone in lawe, the more noble of

lothe. Vpon the Whiche her answerr/ther grette contrauarye betwene thies two yong Romaynes and grete herte brennyng/Whiche of theym tweyne sholde haue be counted for more noble/And for as moche as lykie thynges had not be seen byfore/And that thanswerr of Lucrelle was openly publysshed/the mater was brought byfore the Senate/Where eyther of theym had suche langage for his parte by Waye of Oracion as ensieweth.

The Oracion of Publius Cornelius Scipio.

WYth it is so that my lady Lucrelle hath Willed and desired to haue the more noble of vs tweyne. Ye ffaders conscript, Whiche of you is he. that vnderstandeth openly/how Publius Cornelius Scipio born and descended. of the noble and Worshipful blood and hous of the Cornelyes. muste by alle reason and right. haue and enioye the glorye of this mooste goodly choyse. Who is he Wel aduysed that doubteth that, to be noblesse, Whiche We take of the stocke/of oure Worthy olders/ syth they lefte that, vnto theyr heyres and successours as the richest parte of theyr enherytaunce, ffor Whan they haue atteyned the fame of Worshipful dedes/by them parfyghted. and deserued laude of knyghtly disciplyne. ripe maners/grete vertue/ and hygh glorye/and haue merited a name bryght and Immortal, With hye and grettest Worshipes. that they haue atteyned to the places and offices of grettest auctorite in our cytee, And so called the verray noblesse & Worship

by the remembraunce of the whiche/all theyr yssue is no-
bledy, yf it so be that we brynge oure childeren in to this
world as parte of our blood/membres, bones/& wellelyes.
how shold they be otherwise called than the partes of our
bodye, the whiche graunted / hyt muste folowe necessa-
rily that theyr heyres, partes of theyr bodye, be partenars
of theyr glorye/And suche parte of glorye as they recey-
ue, they leue vnto theyr childeren, as to the partyes of
theyr body / And so to be continuedy to the laste of that
kynrede. Sothe it is, that the lykenesse of the faders / be
for the more parte shewed in the childeren. by thordenaunce
and establysshement of nature, And somtyme they be
veryly lyke. that nothyng in beaute and personnages
can be founde differente. And so that durynge the lyf of
the sone the fader may not be forgeten/Item many faders
and childeren bey so lyke in maners/that theyr whyttes &
maner of lyuyng be wel nyghe comformable/the childeren
be so norysshed and brought vp in theyr faders houses, the
whiche theyr famylyer custommes, and dayly conuersa-
cion of speche, and delynge to gydre, muste nedes drawe
them to comformyte of maners / syth it draweth theym
which be foreynes full ofte vnto the same/By the which
reasons / it sheweth euydently, that custome and nature.
haue ful grete force and strengthe in childeren, and in-
pressyng in theym ful hugely his force/So that for the
more parte yf the fader and moder be vyaious / they leue
alwey a spotte vnto alle theyr progenye/And yf they be
vertuous, they leue to theym a bryght fame. suche as
without theyr demerytes, may not be taken from theym.

I coude remembre vnto you many yf ye wil not thynke me to longe/ Which haue had worshipful faders/ & therfor without ony other cause/ haue ben called forthwith noble Who is that wel vnderstandeth the worship of Furius Cammillus/ that wolde not Juge his childeren noble & honourable/ syth he delyuerd the cyte in most extreme peryll/ out of the hondes of our enemyes, And so he allone repared and preserued the weal of our thynge publyque, Who is he also in lykewise, that wil not thynke the childeren of Fabius Cato and Emilius worthy fame and noblesse/ syth by the vertue of theyr said faders, the cyte was sette in so grete worship and surete/ And they therfore receyued so often theyr tryumphys, Who is he that wil not trouthe/ that our wele publyque/ is gretely behold/ den to the childeren of theym, whiche so often put themself wilfully/ theyr lyf/ theyr goodes/ and alle that they hadde in gretest Jeopardy and peryll for the same, ffor yf theyr faders wel and worshipfully acquyted theym self in that byhalue. And caused our cyte to floure in so grete worshipp and glorye / ffor sothe me semeth it were ouer vnkynde yf it wolde not haue theym in perpetual and worshipful remembraunce/ And therfore in so moche as oure olders wold not ben holde but kynde, they ordeyned and establysshed by theyr statutes and lawes publyque/ that who someuir they were, that chastysed theyr enemyes destressed grete folkes/ or subdelued contrees to theyr obeysaunce/ shold receyue, at theyr retorne, that glorye, that was vnto an Emperour with worshipful Tryumphis openly yeuen, by the whiche they shold be exalted in

worshyp lyke vnto a gyde Immortall. Grauen ymages
also representyng theyr lyknesse sholdy be sette in the
places/ where thassemblee of the people oftenest / & moost
amply was hady. Also theyr names to theyr perpetuel
laude were wryten in the stone werkes enbolded/ calledy
the Arches tryumphal-tappere clerely to alle theyr heyres
and successours. The whiche Arches tryumphal/ Romay
nes vysyted and worshyped certayn dayes of the yere by
theym kympted and ordeygned/ wherfore it sholdy seme, yf
suche andy so grete worshyp was due vnto the grauen y-
mages/ the same and gretter is due vnto theyr childeren
andy progenye. ffor tho grauen ymages were but a
counterfeted representacon of theyr persones and vicio-
tyes. And in theyr childeren nature hath lyeffully empryn
tedy andy shewedy verely the same/ and so ordeygned, that
they maye doo grete & good seruyse, to the weal publyque
where as the dede stones may ful lytil ease or prouffyte /
And theyr childeren callyng vnto theyr mynde the no-
ble dedes of theyr progenytours, maye be so sette vnto
the folowyng of theym, that they sholdy mowe doo many
thynges ful weleful / andy commodyous for oure estate
publyque. Andy sette a syde many thynges noyesaunt &
perylous for the same. Andy therfor ful ofte/ for the re-
ward of theyr faders merytes, our Cytezeyns haue youen
to theym dyuerse offices of grete auctorite and worshype
Also more ouer, ther is no wise man, that vnderstandeth
hym self nere his dayes and tyme of deth, gyueth charge
so gretely of ony thynge erthely, as of that/ that he shal
mowe leue his childeren to lyue worshypfully aftir theyr

diſceas, Ne in theyr age they can not vnderſtande, ony thyng more pleſaunt or ioyous vnto them, than yf their children by theyr vertues be called to eſtate and worſhipp We ſee alſo that the chief of theyr thought, and pleaſure is vpon theyr children, And ſome thynke they can not age ne wexe olde, whyle theyr children ben a lyue, ne that they be vnforſaken by humanyte, all the whyle, their children enioyen it, Whiche premyſes preue, that the loue of the faders, emong all the deſires of mortal men, can not be thought to reſte ſo gretely in ony one thynge, as in theyr children, & yf it ſo be that the pryncipal thought of the faders bothe fyrſt and laſte, reſteth in the children, & in theym, and for theym they haue theyr pleſaunce, and care, The ſequele is vpon this cyte that they muſte thynke chiefly, it be kept and holden to the children of theym I mene of tho faders, Which haue ſo merited thanke and laude, for that they haue doon for the ſame cyte, And furthirmore worſhipe and make moche of theym, at the reuerence of theyr faders, and to vſe and exercyſe that kyndeneſſe in theym, Wherin they falbtedy in power to recompence the merytes to theyr ſaid faders whyles they lyued, Therfore me ſemeth, this is the hyeſt parte of nobleſſe, to come of theyr auncestres, of whom they may recolite and where the noble dedes, many tymes worſhipfully achieued and parfyghtedy truly & without colour, And for theyr benefaytes, theyr yſſue may duely deſyre, And by title of enherytaunce chalenge the offices of eſtate & worſhipe in this cyte or ony other place, And remembre theym ſelf, how they be verray partyes of tho bodyes Which

haue ben so worshipful . wenyng the lyghenesse / ymage/ and peynte after theym, Who is he that wolde not Juge theym noble/namely whan alle men ben of the same opynyon/Nay the comyne people, calle theym onely noble . Whiche ben descended of noble Auncestry . ffurthermore sothe it is * that the habundaunce of Rychesse enlyssheth gretely noblesse / by the Whiche Rychesse . the seruauntes / and alle other conuenyentes . for the welle beseeyng of the howse , ben hadd more goodly and playsaunt / And suche thynges also as outwardly possessions /And forsyn causes ben better susteyned and serued . Frendship also and attendaunce of neyghbours . is by that meane purchased / And who is he that can thynke , that he sholde moche wel helpe his frendes in tyme of theyr nede / Whiche maye not of hym self releue his owne necessyte . Wherfor me semeth the chief and hyest parte of noblesse / muste reste in lyberalyte . And as I sayde he payneth hym self vaynely to exercise lyberalyte to other folkes / Whiche hath not wherof to vse it to hym self . It is necessarye thẽne / that he that wille be lyberall, habũde in goodes of fortune . thenne his noblesse shal shewe/bryght by meane of lyberalyte/And the lusty brightnes of many noble persones is derked & seased whan they lacke that wherof they sholde be lyberall . How many noble & chosen men haue there ben / that whan they haue be brought to the point of pouert/haue ben holden & talien for vyle/And of none estymacyon . how many hye & noble men haue deyed vnknowen for lacke of goode . whos vertue myght not conduyte theym to the fauoure of princes

for that they lacked that. Whiche was necessarye for sus-
tentacion of their lyuyng. Thenne habundaunce of good
is a grete and a souerayn helpe to the shelde, and settyng
oute of the werkes of noblesse, by the whiche the courage
may be enforced with grete hardynes. And the vertue of
noblesse maye more clerely appere. And yf it so be that
noblesse resteth in blood and richesse, as it muste nedes.
Which of you is it faders conscript, that doubteth my blood
And my hauoyre, remembryd, but that I shold moste wel
chalenge to be one of the mooste noble of thies cyte, ffor who
is he that hath fought more manly, for our estate publy
que, than myn Auncestres, Or where maye be founde e-
mong vs, that hath putt hym self in grette Jeopardy for
the same than they, Or by grette force and vertue hath
sette a syde fro this cyte peryll and disshonoure lykly to
haue falle to the same, where can ye remembre that ony
haue subdued to your obeyssaunce so moch of this worlde
as myn auncestres haue doon, ffor one of theym whan he
had chastysed the prowde courages of the kynges of Alie
and dyuerse other nacions, deseruedy the name of Alie
to be ioynedy to his name for a perpetuel memory of his
victorye, Another of theym in the tyme whan ytalye la-
houredy in the suffraunce of the cruell force of oure ene-
myes. Whiche neyther spared to brenne, slee, and waste all
the contrees enuyrõne / I meane aftir the grete bataylle
of Cutius delyuerd the cyte all occuppyed with wepyng,
waylyng, and woo, despeyredy of releef. by the puys-
saūce of Hanybal thenne oure enemye, conseyued with
his dayly victoryes / enchacedy the sayd Hanybal from

oure londes of Italy, in to his owne contrey. Where he put hym to perpetuel rebuke, And subdued the estately cyte of Cartage. Which had alwey bē in hate to our obeissaū ce, by the whiche victorye, he merited the name of Affrý ca to be knytte with his name, And for so moche as the thrydde Scipio in the tyme of the rebelles of Cartage. Whan he had made the walles & byldynges euen with the grounde, The saide name of Affrýca. he and his successours enioyed as a surname where in they were enherited, I passe ouer to speke of other. by whos vertue and glorye this Cyte was soueraynly praysed and dradd. ffor yf I wolde reherce you, the worshipful dedes and actes of eue ryche of myn aunceſtres, I sholde peraduenture occupye you to longe, And I sholde not vnderstonde my self, whan I sholde make an ende. And I may moche more gladly and leeffully, in this byhalue put my self to sy lence. syth that theyr famous dedes be to theyr Infynyte laude notaynely knowen of you alle. ffor where is the place in this Cyte that is voyde, of the tryumphal wry tyngs of myn Aunceſtres, or where is that temple. that is not enourned with the ryche espoylle of their victorye ces, What sacred places can we see here, In which the pyctour or grauyng of theyr ymages is not, And they be suche, & as grete remēbraunces of theyr nobleſſe, as is leefful for ony mortal man to wyſſe or deſyre, Which premyſſes preue euydently, in how grete nobleſſe of blood I am enherited, ffor I bere in me the verray ymage of theym, ffor who so euer lineſſe theym, & now seeth me, maye not faille to calle theym vnto his mynde, I am he that repreſēted their blood

theyr membres and theyr ſhappe in this body Which J bere about. Of theym J cam. Jn theyr hoWſes J Was nou ryſſhed and With theym J dWellyd tyl J atteyned the yeres of my force. And ſo J am deſcendedy of the ſtrene of theyr nobleſſe. that in no Wiſe it may be taken fro me. and yf this cyte be dettour vnto theym. ffor theyr benefaytes. J muſte nedes clayme as theyr heyr. parte of the ſame dette. And me ſemeth J may chalenge of you Worſhypful faders of right. ſuche offices of Worſhip as ſhal falle in youre yefte. ffor J troWe ther Were neuir none more Worſhipful endoWed With noble courage than myne aunceſtres With Which vnto me lefte as grete plente of nobleſſe and rycheſſe as can of ony perſone be Wylledy or deſyredy. ffor my fader lefte vnto me fayre and ſtately places. Wel and plenteuouſly fornyſſhedy of alle maner thynges. Whiche ſhold be longe vnto theym. ſo that Whan they be arayedy and honged With ſuche ſtuff as be left me. ther is ful lytil differences. betWene the palayſes of kynges and my byldynges. J haue thenne Without the ſubarbes. places of diſporte as luſtely and pleſauntly byldedy. as can be deuyſedy. beſyde that J haue in champayne. ffertyle feldes. ryche poſſeſſions and fayr vyllages Whiche be able to receyue. not only a grete hoWſholdy. but a grete hooſt. And furnyſſhe them haboundauntly of alle maner of vitayll. What hoWſholdy J kepe and hoW it is beſeen. Alle the peple of this cyte knoWe Well ynough. ffor ſothe J haue ſo grete plente of the yefts of fortune. And of my Worſhipfull progenytours. that J daze ſaye. So that no may ther With

be displeased, that there be fewe in this cyte in byrthe and rychesse / whiche excelle me. Thenne lete Gayus Flammyneus put hym self to sylence / And namely in this stryf of noblesse/or in the desyre of fair Lucresse, syth in byrthe and rychesse he maye chalenge no parte of noblesse/Namely syth it is to vs alle vnknowen / from whens he cam. And whether he haue ony lytle pyece of erthe to bylde vpon a Cote or lodge. And therfor of verray right I aske this fayr lady/whiche is to be maryed/that hath chosen me/syth I am more noble than Flammineus. And therfore I haue best deserued to be perpetual seruaūt to her mooste beautyuous grace/duryng my lyf/And pe my lady Lucrelle haue right grete cause to be right glad/and thanke our godes hertely/which haue endowed you with so grete wisedom and grace. ffor ye colde not haue chosen a more faythful. ne more obeyssaunt seruaūt ne one that loueth you more hertely. ne one with whome ye sholde passe youre yeres more prosperously. ffor I shal bringe you to my lodgyng where ye shal see estately byldynges of halle and chambres conuenient for a kynge. Next ye shall see the chambre of playsaunce wyth ryche and playsaunt bedes and hangynges. Also the ryche pyeces of clothes of golde and sylke for youre arayement / And ye shal chese as moche as shal please you of theym. ye shal not be vexed with comyn labours, ye shal lede youre lyf with pleasaunt ydelnesse. And ye shall not nede to breke youre slepe to thynke how ye shal gete you moneye to lyue at youre lyberte. As it shal best please you. And ye shal not

nede to thynke on ony thynge/ but holde ye shal be mery in
syngyng daũsynge, huntynge, halkyng, and suche other
disportes of pleasaunce / And ye shal haue suche gentil
wymmen, to be partenerys of your playsyrs as ye wil ches;
se/and other maydens whiche shal be redy to obeye youre
commaundementes. Ther shal no day passe you / that ye
ne shal haue som disporte of pleasaunce. And I shal en;
force me to make you passe the nyghtes merely, And
Flammineus myght euyl promyse you thise thynges.
syth he is of suche poueste. that he lacketh alle thyse hym
self. And with hym forsothe ye sholde lede ouer wretchidy
and careful lyf/ ffor in stede of estately and playsaunt
bedes and hangynges/ ye shal fynde in his holes such as
they vse vpon londe., And in stede of playsaunt ydelnes
ye shal fynde ouer peyneful besynesse. In stede of reste /
laboure, And in stede of slepe. watche, And ther shold no
daye passe you ferre, without laboure and occupacion. Who
is he. therfore that supposeth/ but that fayr Lucresse wolde
haue me to her seruaunt / Whan she eheseth the more noble
of vs tweyne. ffor sothe (Madame ye vnnethe speke more
openly/ In this your wyseste/ and mooste discrete choys.
onlesse that ye had named me by my name. ful womanly
& couertly ye expressyd youre desire/ & where your shamefast
womanhedy wolde not saye, I desyre Cornely/ ye sayde/ I
desire the more noble of theym tweyne/ It were ouer grete
a folye to deme otherwyse. ffor who is he that wolde byle;
ue/ that ye wold forsake playsãt reste, & chese peynful besi
nes. therfor ye faders cõscript acordyng vnto youre estates
& dygnytees/ gyue ye a rightuoy sentence in this mater/

Thus endeth the Oracion of Cornelius Scipio

And here folowyth the oracion of Gayus Flāmineus

Orshipful ffaders conscript/syth I am en-
forced to spekie for my parte of uoblenes/me
semeth I haue a verray grete grace to haue
you to my Juges. Whiche be moost noble, &
endowed with moste assured courage, Ther can nowher be
founde ony. Which haue so parfyght vse of noblesse as ye
And it is the thynge to my souerayn comforte and ioye/
Whan I remembre you so ful of equyte & right hauyng so
parfyght knowlege of thynges with a customedy vse of
vertue. Thenne I shal not owe suffre of you ony wron-
ge/or saye ony thynge not knowen to you, or remembre
ony vertu/the whiche ye your self vse not. In this con-
trauersye ffor sothe faders conscript/ it is to gyue more
sad and quyck audyence than in ony other pryuate stry-
ues/ ffor this is a Jugement that shal concerne onely
two cyteseyns. or one perticuler persone. but it is a thyng
that toucheth alle folke/& shal euer be had in remembrau-
ce. And shal be namedy thorugh alle the worldy. thetenne
lawe of the sacredy Senate of Rome/ Ye maye see this
daye otherwise than it hath ben afore tyme seen, holde alle
the pepole of Rome ben present/ Andy lye in awayte
vpon youre Jugement. Andy ye maye beholde the
syght andy loke of youre Cytezeyns andy forteynes
cast andy fyxed vpon you, Andy to theym it is not only

comfortable to vnderstande, whiche of vs tweyne shal haue fair Lucrelle, but whiche of vs sholde be Juged for more noble/therfor I ephorte youre grete wisedom to aduerte the weyght of this matter/ffor holde be it / Justice is to be tendred and kepte/in euery matter/yet it is mooste to be take heede of/and holde to be vsed in hyghe and grete maters. And faders conscript. I beseche you to pardone me for youre grete humanyte and noblesse/though I speke more sharply in this mater, than I haue ben a customed afore this, to be myne owne heralde/ne to saye euyll of ony other persone without grete cause, syth I knowe wel/the fyrst procedeth of an Inmoderate corage, & the seconde of an impacient herte, natheles I am enforced to the fyrst that is to saye my self / syth I muste nedes defende myn owne nobles/& to the seconde, I am compelled, by the surquydous boost and wantoun langage of Cornely, which hath spoken lately byfore you/lytil worship of me. temptyng his softnesse with his sharp wordes. And yet he gaf me by that, grete helpe & socoure in my cause, bothe to rebuke and to represse his lacke of shamefastuesse/ ffaders conscript ye haue vnderstanden the playnyr of noble Lucrelle/touchyng the chops of vs tweyne. And holde Cornelius hath be bolde to deseyue nobleesse / And setteit in blood and rychesse, And so to preue that he is more noble than I. & ferthermore tolde of the worshipful dedes of his auncestres, And holde grete Rychesse and hauoyrs his fadre had lefte to hym/ Soth it is, that the substaunce of his speche resteth in this, but he coude nothyng remembre of hym self. that he had doo ony thyng worthy

or dygne of rehersayll or remembraunce. And therfore he
vttred nothyng of his owne lyf and maners/ And for-
sothe I trowe / that noblesse resteth not in the glorye of
any other man. or in the flyttyng goodes of fortune/ but
in a mannes owen vertu and glorye/ ffor what is nobles-
se other than a certayn excellence in vertue and manhode
Whiche proueth one man worthy. to be preferred another.
ffor semblably as man excelleth alle other beestys/ and
not for his force/ but for his reason / so by the vertu that
one man hath/ Whiche another hath not/ he excellyth hym/
ffor Whan a man hath be exercised in the craftes of gret-
est noblesse/ that is to saye/ in Justice/ pyte/ constaunce.
Magnanymyte/ Attemperaunce. and prudence deseruyng
a fame of excellence in theym. And hath quyte hym well
to the goodes Inmortall. to his fader and moder. to his
frendes/ kynne and his contreye/ And hath be nourysshed
and brought vp in the doctryne of lectuire/ thenne me se-
meth forsothe he shold be called/ and reputed more noble
worshipful & more famous than another as Corneli hym
self saide a lytil by fore. Whan he spak of his owne ma-
ners/ And on that other syde/ he that is corrupt With cur-
sed craftes. And betaketh hym self to cruelnesse/ recheles-
nesse/ Cowardyse/ dystemperaunce/ and Iniustyce / and
eyueth no force of Relygyon, ne of the goody Wille of
his frendes or not to vse pyte to his fader and moder in
tyme of theyr nede/ ffor soth me semeth/ he shold be Juged
of alle men a Wrecche/ vnnoble, shameful. and worthy to
be sette a syde fro alle goody companye. It is not halon-
daunce of Rychesse. ne the noblenes of byrthe that may

gyue or take away nobleſſe fro ony perſone. ffor the cou-
rage of man is the very veryng place of nobleſſe, the
whiche dame nature themperreſſe of alle thynges here by
neth/hath ordeyned and eſtablyſſhed to haue chief preemy
nence in the lyf of man. and hath enſued it euenly in
alle men mortall/fro the fyrſt day of theyr byrthe/And
ſhe neuir Joined it to the enherytaunce of poſſeſſions/ffor
ſhe wyll be at her lyberte & fredam by thaduyſe of vertue/
to gyue it. to whom ſhe lyketh beſte/And lyke wiſe as a
glaſſe or a myrrour wel made/ſhewyth the fygurr ſette by
forr it, yf it be faire, fairer/& yf it be foule, fouler, ſo the
courage which is pure & free/is diſpoſed to take nobleſſe
or Jnnobleſſe indiffrently. And ther ſhold no man accu-
ſe the largeſſe of nature in this mooſt beſt. and excellent
gyfte of fredom. ffor ſhe gyueth to euery man a lyke cou-
rage, and taketh none heede of theyr kynne polherer or ri-
cher/ffor ther is no man ſo nedy. ſo vyle/ne ſo lytil ſette
by, but whan he is brought in to this worldy. he is endo-
wed with as good courage/as the ſone of an Emperour
or kynge. and as apt to vertue and manhode, and perad-
uenture in this cauſe J ſhal not nede to gyue many ex-
amples. What ſhal J ſaye of them. that haue ben borne
of ſymple and lowe kynne, whiche haue growen to grete
worſhip. Of whom ther cometh ſo grete plente to my myn
de/that this daye is to ſhort for me to reherce the leſſe par-
te of theym. neuirtheles J ſhal reherce a fewe, begynnyng
at Tullius Oſtilius. whiche was borne in a ful ſymple
cotage. And hadyr fader and moder ſo poure and wretchidy
that ful fewe ther were that knewe theyr names/And

the ſaid Tullius was an herde and kept beeſtes. and gre-
we ſo in wiſedom and vertue. that atte laſte he occuppyed
the gretteſt auctorite and dignyte in this cyte. And holy
he enlargedy the ſame cyte. and ſubdewed the reyentys. &
the fydenatys oure gretteſt ennemyes / Andy brought
theym to oure obeyſſaunce. It is oppen to you alle / Alſo
Seruius Tullius born of a bonde ſtocke atteygned the
higheſt gouernaunce of this cyte / Andy bihauedy hym
ſelf ſo nobly therin. that he made the ſabynes youre ſub-
gettes. and theyes he receyued his tryumphe. ffurthermore
he ioyned to this cyte thre hylles. Alſo Marcus porcius
Cato was born in ſuche another Cote. a full lytil holy
lyke as was Tullius hoſtilius. And he was in this cy-
te of ſo grete dygnyte andy auctorite. that he paſſedy alle
other in his dayes. he was right nobie andy neceſſary to
our comynte. he was in his tyme a worthy knyght. and a
ferry good clerke. & he was had in grete reuerence of the
cytezeyns / that by his wiſedom he encreacedy the nombre
of the Senatours. And emblyſſhed the mageſte of the
Senate with his preſence / Euery man knoweth alſo
holy Marius was born in the wylde felde. for his fader &
moder were ſo poure / & ſo abiect a ſtok. that they hady no
holys of theyr owne. & yet in right grete vertue & excellēt
manhode he flowred. all ye knowe wel / holy he was fyrſt
in the bataylle agaynſt Jugurtha vndernethe his mayſ-
ter Metheliius. which was that tyme queſtour of Rome
whome the ſaid Marius ſucceded in his office of Conſul
And he bihauedy hym ſo wel in the ſaid bataylle. that he
put to flyght the ſaid Jugurtha. And Bokkius kyng

of Maurytanus whiche cam that tyme with grete mul-
titude of people to ſocoure and enforce Jugurtha.
And whan he hadȳ put hym to flyght, he wan many caſ-
tellys and fortreſſes. And atte laſte tokē the ſaidȳ Ju-
gurtha/and brought hym afore his chare to rome, And
there receyuedȳ his tryumphe. with right grete glorye.
Aftir that whan the peple whiche were calledȳ Symbry-
anes had wonne the feldē of the Romaynes. whiche ma-
de alle the cyte to tremble andȳ quake for feere, in lyke
wiſe as they dyde in tyme of Hanybal/Thenne Mari-
us was choſen to be the Capetayn of the feldē made a-
gayn the ſayd Symbryanes. where he had the victorye
And delyuerd the cyte fro feere and perylle, And therfor
he receyued his ſeconde tryumphe/Socrates alſo which
was the verray myrrour of the wiſedom of man, whos doc-
tryne hath enlumynedȳ alle the ſcoles of philoſophers,
whiche was alſo the wyſeſt and cunnyngeſt of all mor-
tal men as grete Appollo bereth witneſſe/He hadȳ to
his moder a mydwyf. Andȳ to his fader a Marbyler/
Euripydes alſo whiche excellyd in his tyme alle other,
in wrytyng of Tragedyes/And Demoſtene the mooſt
eloquente Oratour of the grekes were born of right pu-
re and ſymple ſtocke/And who is he that wolde or dar calle
theym vnnoble/Jt muſte nedes be grauntedȳ that, eyther
ther is no nobleſſe emong mortal men, ellys yf ther be ony
it reſteth in ſuche perſones. as wyſedom. force. manhode.
forſyght/andȳ verray vertue make theym to flowre aboue
alle other/And gyue to theym fame lyke to goddes Jn-
mortall/Andȳ Cornely thou knoweſt wel thy ſelf, how

vnlyke thou art vnto tyn Auncestres. in euery thynge
concernyng worshyp and exercises of manhode. Whiche
proueth wel the contrarye of that/ Whiche thou hast sayd.
that noblesse is not kinytte to bloody. but to veray vertu.
that is ioyned to the courage/ ffor they tofore remembrid
shold neuir ellys be callyd noble. Whiche haue ben of sym-
ple and lowe byrthe/ And many that haue comen of wor-
shipful auncestrys that deseruedy. by theyr demerytes/ not
only to lose theyr name of noblesse/ but ouer that / to be
callyd shameful and abhomynable creatures/ And som I
shal reherse of thy kynne / And fyrst I wil begynne at
the sone of Scipio Affryean. Whiche derkedy and defa-
ced the bygorous and vertuous fame of his fadir/ And
that not a lytil With his cowardyse and folye/ ffor When
he was destressed and take With grete shame by the kyng
of Anthiochy. And kneelyd byfore hym. he wepyng lyke
a childe. held vp his hondes/ And besought the said kyng
to graunte hym his lyf. The said Scipio also, When
that he not by his merytes, but by the labour of Cilenu,
Whiche was his faders scryble hady goten thoffyce namedy
emonge vs Pretore. His frendes and kynnesmen were
so glad therof/ that they sayd/ they herde nothyng of lon-
ge tyme byfore/ Wherof they were more heuy / And
they vnderstandyng his cowardyse and foly. for fere leste he
shold haue blemyssyed the worshyp publyque of this cyte,
or the worthy fame of his Inmedyat progenytours. or-
deyned so emong them, that he was neuir suffred to sytte
in his place anneyed to his offyce/ ne to gyue ony Juge-
ment in ony cause / Also Publius of the same stocke

Whan he was named Consulk/And sente forth ageynst Jugurtha that had slayn Hatherbal and yempsal the sones of kyng Mypsipha/Whiche were euir frendely.and welewyllers/to the Romaynes/And therfore the said Publius was commaundedy to take vengeance of theyr dedes/he ledde his hoost so vchelesly/that ouze people were neuir moze wretchidly and perylously conduyted.And atte laste he was corrupt with good Whiche he receyued of Jugurtha,And therfor he made with hym an ouer shameful peas.Whiche was aftir refused.and vtterly despised of the Senate.And hym self therfore dischargedy of his offyce,to his grettest rebuke & shame.Where may ony thyng moze vnworshipful / I shold saye moze shameful he tolde or rehercod of ony man,And what shal I saye of the mooste graceles yong may named Lucius Fabius Maximus sone of Allobrogus . his faders worship halpe hym not.Whan he was knowen of so vicious and wretchid lyf/But Quintus Pompeus that tyme pretor of this cyte.banny ssheth hym perpetuelly out of vome What shal I saye ferthermoze of the neuewe of Quintus Ortencius/the Whiche was a man in this Cyte of grete auctorite,And atte laste by euyl company was ledde so/that he foozed not openly to goo to the stewes/and in syght of alle men.to haue a doo with comyn wymmen How supposest thy self Corneli. sholdy we deme theym that we haue rehercod / noble / Whan theyr lyf so moche wretchid and full of foly.quenchid the bryghtnesse of theyr noblesse/What yf they wold preche of the noble dedes and actes of theyr Auncestres / Or what yf they wold

ſhalle graue̅n or paynted ymages of theym / in tharches
triumphal or ſacred places. to beſt thou thy ſelf / whyle
they were ſo vicious, that ony wiſeman wold for all that
they coude ſhewe or remembre / eyther preyſe theym or ſet by
theym / Thenne it ſholdy ſeme better for theyr owne plea-
ſyre & worſhip to kepe ſilence / than to ſpeke ony thynge
of theyr progenytours / ffor there is no man / but he wolde
thynke hem the more to blame, that whan they had ſo wor-
ſhipful an eyample ſette byfore their eyen / they forſoke ſha-
mefully and wretchedly to folowe it, & me ſemeth though
theyr faders hady don neuir ſo moche for the weal publy-
que of this Cyte. it ſholdy in no wyſe be dettours to theyr
childeren. whiche hey of trauerſe condicions / ffor lyke wiſe
as theyr faders dyde emblyſſhe alle this cyte / So they
ſpotten andy defoulen the ſame. Theyr faders ſette oure
cyte in honoure and ſurete. Andy they euery day put it in
perylle and nonſurete. Theyr faders by theyr vertue andy
force delyuerdy oure cyte that whan it ſtode in grete Jeo-
pardye and perylle. Andy whan it was in gretteſt reſte &
peas / they haue ſette it in grete trouble and diſordynaūce
Andy what ſhold ſuch men molde clayme by theyr merite
or deſerte in our cyte / whan it had be good for the ſame ne-
uer to haue ſeen theym / & to their faders / neuir to haue bego
ten theym / namely whan theyr ſaid faders. preferred oure
weal publyque theyr lyues / Jt is not thenne to doubte /
that yf theyr faders were on lyue / and certaynly aduerti-
ſed of theyr dyces / they wolde Juge theym acordyngy to
theyr demerytes to grete turmentys / deth, or perpetuel exy-
le / ffor many lykie yong men of ſemblable maners, haue

ley by their forfaders condempned by Jugement, as Bru-
tus. ffor Whan he had vnderstonde that his sonnes con-
spired agayn oure Weal publyque/he made theym fyrst to
be bete with rodes/& afterward to be byheded/Also Calli-
us made his sone, Whiche rebelled ageynst thempyre of
Rome to be taken/And forthwith sent hym sore scorged
to the Senate / there by Jugement to receyue his deth /
Lyke wyse Maulyus torquatus one of the moost no-
ble Cytezeyns that we haue had, Whan his sone was em-
pleted of dette, toke vpon hym thexamynacion of the ma-
ter / And Whan he vnderstode his sone truly accused/he
yaf his sentence in this wyse . Syth it is so . that my
sone hath robbed this cyte, of so moch moneye/And blot-
ted gretely the fame of me, and all his kynnesmen . by
the brekyng of his fayth and promyse/I Juge hym vn-
worthy to entre his faders holds/or to receyue ony lene-
fayte of oure estate publyque/or to come in the company
of ony worshipful Cytezeyn/Whiche proueth sufficiently
that they, Which ley not lyke theyr faders in vertue, shold
not be lykie to theym in ony reward gyuen by oure estate
publyque, ffor lyke wise, as in a derke glasse or myrrour
a fygure doth vnnethe appere, so in the childeren that be
vicious . The vertue of the fader maye vnnethe be seen /
Therfore Cornely thou hast a ful veyne supposyng,
Whan thou trowest that the glorye and noblesse of the fa-
ders must be left to the childeren, as a thynge of enhery-
taunce / And alle this boost that thou makest of thy
kynne, it sowneth moche rather to theyr lawde and wor-
ship than thyn/And though Childeren haue blood, and

alle thapertenaũces pertaynyng to the lodye of theyr fa-
ders, yet the veray noblesse / Whiche resteth in the spirytes
and courage, maye not be had Without a mannes
owen labouze and deserte, And Where as thou sayst
that lettred persones calle theym properly gentylmen
Whiche ben descended of noble kynne. ffor sothe I holde
wel With that / so they be lykte in suche vertues / as haue
causedy theyr forfaders to be callyd noble / And as
for thy self, yf thou chalenge it by that title, Amende
thy maners / or gyue ouer thy cause / But I trowe bet-
ter that persones wel lettred Wil rather note them /
Which ben them self cowardes, and haue more manly for
faders With degeneracion, than noblenesse / Syth that
they be soo different in maners fro theyr kynne / It is
dayly thyng of experyence, that many a Worshipful man
hath ful vnWorshipful Childeren. And many a wy-
se man hath had fonnyssh Chyldezen / And many a
vertuous man. chyldezen vicyous / And there thou
leyest the vulgar oppynyon for thyn auctour. I holde
it ful easy to dysaproue, syth it is so chaungeable and
full of errours, And it is veray certayn / that the said
oppynyon acordeth ful seeldy With Wisedome. But now
late vs descende to that pouerte, that they Whiche be
noble or gentilmen haue diuerse tymes fallen in, Where
Was ther oughWhere a pourer, than Marchus Agrip-
pa Whiche Was passyngly excellent / and necessary to
onre thynge publyque / Whiche Was in that caas, that
When that euery man Was tayed at a certayn / there

was nothynge founde of his patrymony / whiche myght relyeue or augmente oure comyn treſour / was not oure commonte fayn for as moche as Valerius Publicola that hadȳ quyt hym ſo notablȳ oft andȳ many tymes for oure eſtate publyque / dyeng in ſuche puerte / that he left not wherwith he myght be entereredȳ. but to burye hym on theyr owen coſte and charge. Andȳ how the people of this cyte called Lucius Cincinnatus fro the tilthe and ſowyngȳ of his londe to the hyeſt Empyre, It is eaſy to remembre, how the ſaidȳ Lucius prouedȳ hym ſelf of ſuche vertue andȳ courage, Thenne whan the Paleltȳ; nes hadȳ biſegedȳ this cyte, he brake not only the ſeage, And chacedȳ theym to the floodȳ namedȳ Alba. but ouer that he wan andȳ ſubduedȳ echt grete cytees, whiche were the chief helpers andȳ courageours of theym in theyr warres, And alle this victorye he achieued & parfyted in twenty dayes / And how glorious was the puert of Actilius Seranus / whom whan the Senate hadȳ callydȳ from his plough to thoffyce of conſul / he acquytedȳ hym with ſo grete vigoure / that he deſtreſſed theyr enemyes & ſette theym in ſurete. but yet that not withſtondynge. the dygnyte of thoffice which lare the playſirs of this cyte, ne the rycheſſe or worſhip which he gate in our werres, coude not lette hym / but that he wolde retourne to his fyrſt la; bour, & theym which were ſo worſhipful in mazcial diſci; pline, & ſo vertuoȳ in lyuyng / ſhal we call vnnoble or wret chid / Is ther ony man ſo deſtitute of reaſon / that wil call theym, but moſt noble / which haue cõſerued our weel publ; que alwey in nobleſſe. me ſemeth this ꝯample ſuffycient

to proue/that nobleſſe may be ioyned with pouerte/And pouerte with nobleſſe/Ne lete no man trowe . but that a pore man. Which hath worſhipful maners and vertuous deades ſhold mowe wel be called noble and namely theſe whiche I haue rehercedy . that acquyted theym ſo manly and aſſuredly / for theyr eſtate publyque / frendes/and kynne. Whan they had grettest nede of comforte & ſocoure. Were not thies folkes lyberall/and worthi to be pray; ſed in the hyghest degree of lyberalyte/Whan they left alle theyr owen playſyr/and prouffytes / to doo theyr ſeruyſe for the comyne weale/I trowe it was a gretter lyberalyte to gyue to theyr cyte the freedom. Whiche was taken fro it/ and delyuerd theyr kynneſmen and frendes from alle pe; ryll. Wronge/and Jeobardye/than yf they hady departedy al theyr hole patrymonye to theyr cyte. kynneſmen/& frendes/And who ſo euir payneth hym/be it in thynges pub; lyque or pryuate/to be called lyberall/ſo moche the more he is proued euery day more lyberal. Whan he vſeth his dylygence and deuoyr to promote his cyte kynne/or frendes/ Thenne Cornely the lyberalyte of a worſhipful pore man/maye be right grete & ſuche/ that pouerte maye not diſpoylle the vertue of nobleſſe / Honeſt pouerte maye take away no parte of vertue. Was it not the fayreſt gyfte and rycheſt lyberalyte of nature to gyue euery man power & abylyte to be vertuoꝰ/And therfor ſhe hath ſette it. in the inwarde places of the ſpirite, and not in the foolhardyneſſe of fortune/And there is no happe ſo hardy and ſo combrous / that maye take vertue from hym/Whiche is wel wylled to kepe it/ne ther is no happe

so marueyllous or plesaunt / that may brynge worshyp to hym / that is a vycyous man or a cowardy / forsothe it is. yf fortune hady souerayntc aboue vertue / wythin a whyle there shold be no vertue / or ony meryte of vertue / for the choyse of thynges to be worshipfully parfyted / shold moche rather reste in fortune, than in the disposicions of our fre wylles. And therfor Cornely seace of that oppynyon. That is to saye to trowe that vertue, lyberalyte, and noblesse / shold haue theyr fyrst, cours. or begynnyng in thabundaunce of rychesse. for thenne it shold folowe that holde worshipful a persone were, whan so euir he fayled rychesse, his name of worshyp shold seace / And the contrarye is treue / for that / whiche is veray worshyp or noblesse, is neyther subgett to fortune or happe. And thomen whiche I haue rehersed, afore theyr puerte attended, shold neuir haue ascended so hyghe in honour / ne haue meryted suche fame of worshyp as they dyde. And therfor ye faders conscript. yf worshipful progenytours haue hady chyldren worshipful. And yf your progenytours haue had worshipful childeren. And yf marueyllous and grete vertue haue rested in suche as haue be right poure. The sequele is to youre wysedomes manyfeste. whiche is this / that noblesse resteth neyther in rychesse ne in blody, but in a free and a noble courage, whiche is neyther seruaunt to vyce ne vnclennesse / but is exercised in connyngy and vertu. And he that is enduedy with suche a courage / deserueth best to be calledy noble / worshipful / & excellent / therfore in this contrauercy of noblesse hauyngy, bytwene me and my felowe, me

ſemeth he ſholde beſte deſerue the palme of victorye, that may proue hym ſelf moſt vertuous & worſhipful/ffaders conſcript I haue leuer in that byhalue to haue one other to ſpeke for me. than to ſpeke my ſelf, leeſt I ſpeke ony thyng ſolwnyng vnto my owne laude/ and be wooſted with the vyce of booſt/Nauirtheles it is to me inly ioyo9 whan I beholde youre mooſt ryght wyſe courages and mooſt benygne humanytees. ffor I wote wel/ I ſhal mo/ we ſaye nothyng in prayſyng of my ſelf vntruly/ but that ye wil vnderſtande it wel ynough. And this/ that I ſhal ſaye of my ſelf truly ſhal not nolde hurte me in youre conceytes, I truſte ye knolde the lyf/ and the maners of vs bothe wel ynough/holde be it I ſhal remembre youre wyſedomes and/aauſtommed benygnytees/what my lyf hath ben/ſyth my fyrſt yeres. ffor ſothe whan I was right yonge I was ſette to ſcole/ And whan I wexed more rype of yeres. I tolde grete pleaſyr to ſpende my tyme/in the ſtudye of philoſophye/ And me ſemeth I coude not haue ſpende it better ne more worſhipfully/and to my maiſtres I hadd theym that vnderſtode bothe greke and latyn/& certayn yeres I abode in athenes to here the grekes/ the princes of eloquence and phyloſophye/ And holde gretely I profyted there/ I report me to the iuge/ ment of theym. whiche be parfyght in that tongue/yet I maye ſaye thus moche of my ſelf. that ther was no day whiche paſſed me ydle/ ne no nyght without ſtudye and lernyng of ſomwhat/ The whiche hye deſyre to haue knolwlege of connyng was graunted to me/ I deme of nature/ffor me ſemed my mynde was neuer appeaſed

but whan it hadȝ knowleche of some thynge that J knew not a fore. And of the verray trouthe of thynges / J hadȝ plente of maistres and techers / and many lerners with me. And emonge the wiseste me of so many / there myght no man be lefte an yeotte / J was so vsedȝ in my yongthe to the doctryne of vertue / that there is left no place in my courage of vicious desyres / ffor in goodȝ feythfull werkes be to me as noyous / displesaunt. and greuous as they may be. And vertues as plesaunt. ioyous / and acceptable as they may be / But after that whan J remembred me. how euery man whiche hath vertue or connynge is bounde to serue therwith the estate publyque. J gaue my self hoolly & fully / to the weal publyque of this cyte / And whan J had doo so / J neuer stynted to thynke vpon the weale and thencrease of the same. dredyng therfore no peryll or labour / J neuer sparedȝ my self in that. whiche shold cause it to flourre in worship and surete. ffor fewe yeres passedȝ / whan our sees were occuppyed and encombredȝ with pirates. And Gaius Flammineus Publius a man of grete worship / hadȝ take vpon hym the charge of youre naupe andȝ shyppes / And hadȝ delyuerdȝ to my gouernaunce ten shippis of forstage / for to feyght ageyn one of the rouers called Horantes / Jt fortuned me to mete with hym. and to borde the same shippe in whiche he was hym self / And how be it / he resysted manly and with grete force trustyng vpon the multitude of his shippes and peple / J ouercam hym & brought hym & alle his naupe to my cappytayne. Also in the batayll ageyn Mithridates J was a knyght / & in the seruyse of the

ſame Emperour/And how ofte I had for my guerdons/ the wounde crowne accuſtomed to be yeuen to that knyght whiche auaunced hym ſelf/moost ſtrongly and manly in the bataylle/I reporte me to myn Emperour and fe= lawſhip/And where is that worſhip that may be goten in thoffyce or dygnyte of Conſul/ by the merytes of knyghtly diſciplyne. that I haue not had/And I truſte to oure goddes that I haue acquyted me in the yeres of my force and luſtyneſſe. that in myn age I ſhal not be retrened emong them/whiche haue doo nothyng for oure weal publyque/how wel that I am be frended. ye my be= ſte byloued frendes/ whiche be here now preſent/ can bere ſufficient wytneſſe. And whether I haue be redy in euery place/to aſſethe youre lyefful deſyres/as wel in thynges publyque/as/thynges pryuate. For I trowe I was ne= uer ſtraunge to doo for you/that laye in my power/And of what fayth/pyte. and loue/ I haue ben to you/ ye alle knowe wel. Grete grace and fortune I haue receyued of our goddes to haue ſo grete benyuolence and frendly= hed of alle folkes. ffor ther is no man in this cyte/ne in all the world hath cauſe to hate me. yf he be not an ene= mye to our comyn weal/neuertheles the ſome of all my la bours hath reſtyd in this/to be a curyous ſercher for our we= al publyque/ mery at home/laboryous outwardy. beſy to atteyne ſcyence/ pytous of them/ whiche hadyneceſ= ſyte/namely to my fader. moder/& kynne. welbyloued of my neyghbours/true to my frendes/obeyſaut & deuoute in thynges relygious. by the which meanes I haue Juged my ſelf to atteyne beſte nobleſſe/And I haue trowed

by thies vertues to polysshe my courage. and to make it more worshipful, Cornely thenne thyn, What be thy condicions/or what is thy disposicions. Where dydest thou ony thyng in thy dayes / that thou canste reherce / Where by thou woldest clayme or chalenge worship or noblesse / Where euyr receyuedy oure eyte ony benefete by the. or ony thyng of valde. Where by it myght vnderstonde that thou were born in this world/ffor thou lyuest emong vs here, more lyke a dede man than a quyck, Where is there euir ony man that hath be holpen or releuyd by the/Where hast thou vsed the noblesse and lyberalyte. that thou spekyst of / praduenture thou hast be prodygal vnto vantone & vnshamefaste creatures/Andy there by thou hast wastedy thy holds. thyne apparayle/ andy alle thy goodes / Thou trowest thy self/thou art passyng worshipful. When thou hast alle thy loues aboute the, Jappynge. Ragynge/andy wrastlynge with theym in thy dronkenhede/And thenne to preche of the noble dedes of thyn olders/ I wil not saye naye / but confesse that thyne Auncestres haue be of soueravne auctorite andy worship in this eyte. Andy thou vnwyseman to thy grete shame / When thou remembrest thyne owne slouthe and symplenesse/ther may nothyng be more detestable or vnthryfty than this is / ffor where thou hadest thyne Auncestres shynyng in worship lyke brygbt phebus. shewyng to the. by theyr clerenesse the streyght hye waye to the same / to lede so derkie andy so blynde a lyf as thou woost. ffor they gaf to the a ful worshipful ejample in many andy dyuerse wyses. holde thou sholdest nowe deserue the grete laude and thanke of thes

tate pulyque. And by theyr bryghtneſſe they ſhewed to the the ſtrayt path to nobleſſe. As yf they ſhold ſaye thies waye we haue holde. and it is eaſy ynough vnto the for to folowe vs, And thou haſt forſaken the bryght path whiche ledeth to worſhip/ and haſt wilfully drowned thy ſelf in the derke pytte of forȝetefulneſſe, Trowſt thou to flowre in oure cyte by the meryte. whan thy ſelf haſt ſo defoulyed the ſame with thy vyces. And trowſt thou to atteyne worſhip by theyr benefaytes whan thou doſte nothyng wel to our cyte/ Suppoſeſt thou with thy ſleep/ reſte. ydelneſſe/ wyne/ mangerye, luſtys, and vnſhame; faſtnes. to gete that worſhipful fame / whiche they gate by theyr laborous watches. contynencys/ hunger/ thurſt, hete, colde and ſo many dyuerſe happes, Thou doſt erre ful hugely/ ffor it muſt nedes be yf thou wylt haue ſuche title of fame as they had/ that thou make thy ſelf ſuche in condycions and maners as they were, Vertue is not a thynge of enherytaunce, And therfor eſſaye whether thou mayſt fynde ſuche reaſon and wyſedom as they vſed, ffor in theyr requeſte thou ſhalt not fynde that they requethed to the their vertue. Thou ſayſt that there was nothyng to theym in theyr laſte dayes. more pleſaunt, than to vnderſtande. the to haue receyued worſhip and reuerence of the eſtates of this cyte. And forſoth I trowe / yf they myght come fro the places. in which they ly/ ther ſholde be nothynge more grenous more diſplayſault. and loother to theyr glorious ſpiryes. than to vnderſtonde/ that our cyte hath ſo long ſuffred pacyently thyne errours and vyces vnpunyſſhed. And I dar ſaye/ yf they were a lyue /

they wolde be the first, that shold punysshe the/eyther with deth or with exile. O good god art not thou ashamed to saye that thou were norysshed and brought vp with theym/whan thy self dost lyue so foolysshly and shamefully, that thou semest rather to haue be norysshed and drawen in the open houses of mysgouerned wymmen/And thou affermest that thou dost represente theyr ymages and lyuelynesse. And yet knowest wel ynough/that thy couardyse exceedeth theyr worshyp. And I wolde wyte of the holy any ymage may wel be seen in a myrrour that is all for rusted. And thou dost supposraylle thy noblesse with thy stately byldynges/fayr places/riche vyllages/and plesaunt feeldes/And despysest my meane suffysaunce in byldyng. lyuelode. and honest pouerte/but thou vnderstondest ful lytil, holy gretely that rychesse/that thou hast. is to thy shame. And that, whiche I haue is to my worshyp/ffor me semeth it is greter worshyp in lytil lyuelode to lyue worshypfully/than in so grete habundaunce to lyue prodygally/mordenatly. and shamefully/Peraduenture I haue had as moche worshyp of knyghtly lawde in this Cyte. as I coude desyre or coueyte/And I lyue so aftir my lyuelode. that I truste to continue my lyf/without lacke of that. whiche shal suffyse me. and for the cause I desyre no more/than that suffyseth. I holde me wel content with that I haue/And it is ynough to me to haue that I desyre. And to coueyte that, whiche is resonable. who so euer coueyteth more/exceedeth the boū/des of reason, what coude he desyre more, whyle he lyue here. than to lyue worshipfully, No doubte therof who

ſomeuir kepeth vp rych ſe/treſtyng therby to ſatiſfye all his deſyres, is but vaynly occupyed/ffor vertue & meſure ought to ſuffyſe in euery thyng./And noble courage can aſcende to worſhip with litil helpe of rycheſſe. but a vnret thyd courage can neuir aſcende to worſhip. though it be holpen with neuir ſo grete plente of rycheſſe/lete no man fere to vſe vertue whan he lacketh goody / It is no payne to hym that is wel willed to doo ſome thyng wel/And he that is not noble. maye accuſe none but hym ſelf / he complayne ofte cauſeleeſ vpon fortune, And therfore Corneli ſtynte of thy booſte of rycheſſe. whiche ſheweth moche rather thy cowardyſe than manhode/And ſeace to deſpyſe my meane ſuffyſaunce of goodes. And ſeace to ſette nobleſſe in the goodes of fortune, whiche be but lente to vs/And yet they ben flyttyng and vnſtable. Nobleſſe ſhold be knytte to vertue. & vertue with nobleſſe/and ye maye lady Lucreſſe/which excell all other of this age in wyſedom and beaute, knowe wel. what veray nobleſſe is/ And by your grete wyſedom/ye haue attayned to the ſame. & I wote wel the vulgar playes. the wantone array of wymmen / the ryche clothes ſette with precious ſtones the clothes of golde/the dayly dalyenſyng & ſyngynge, be not the thynges that pleaſe you mooſt, ffor ye knowe, alle thies thynges ben but ſubgettis and ſeruauntes to vicious and diſhoneſte thynges, ffor ye haue gyuen youre lyf to philoſophye liberall ſtudyes/ /continence, labour ſhamefaſtneſſee/watches/and vertuous buſyneſſe. And in thieſe, ye excelle alle other of youre yeres in this eyte. And theſe ben the thynges that I loue you in eſpecial

fore, & for the which I shal payne me to please you & ser-
ue you & ther be nothynges which maye better be coupled,
than suche as bey lyke in the noble desyres of vertue and
good will, and lyke maners and disposicion of lyuyng.
And ther is nothyng more greuous and discordyng
to loue, than when one desireth vertue, & another desyreth
vyce. Therfore whyle I haue some conuenyence / with
youre maner of lyuyng in vertue. And Cornelius in
alle wyse difference / It muste nedes shewe / that ye loue
not hym, but loue me. ffor what pleasyr sholdy ye haue to
lyue with hym. When ye are disposedy to the vertuouse be-
synesse of studye. And he is the greteste enemye that sci-
ence hath. And when ye wolde feyne attende therto, he in
his dronkenesse. with his stomblyng yeyng and pra-
tyng sholdy lette you, ye woldy be gladi, to see youre hous
floure in shamefastnes and honeste. he wold be gladi on
that other syde / to see it seruaunt to flesshely luste andy
ryote. Ye wold be gladi to speke with sad and connyng
persones. And remaude theym of the merueyllous causes of
thynges. of the moeuynge of the planetes. And the dis-
cyplyne of maners / And he emonge his companye of
wymmen abiecte wolde booste of ryote vncleneſſe andy
folye. And how maye ther be reste or acorde / betwene tho
courages / whiche be so gretely dyfferent / But my lady
Lucrelle. yf it please you, I shal brynge you to my poure
lodgyng where ye shal fynde quyete reste. And how be it.
that yf it be not so superfluously be seen as Cornelius
is. yet I truste ye shal fynde it bettir furnysshed of vertue /
maner / andy suche pleasyrs. as youre mooste womanly

courage delyteth in, And fyrst I shal shewe you my lyte=
rary wel stuffed with fayr bookes of Grekie and latyn/
wher vnto in euery aduersyte/is my chief resorte for cou=
seyll and comforte/And ther shal we dyuerse tymes ha=
ue commynycacyon of the connynge and doctryne of my
lady and maystresse philosophye/And there I shal re=
pete to you the meruey[illegible]lous doctryne of the philosophers
of Athenes, whiche I haue herd and enioye me greteli
whan I remembre it, no besynes of familyar thynges
shal agayn your wyll departe you/fro suche plesaunt pas=
nes. ffor I truste to oure godes, that my lytil feelde of
the which I am enbrayded by Carneli shal suffise for our
dayly lyuelode, Neuertheles one thyng I haue in auaun=
tage that he hath not/ffor though my lytil feeld were ta=
kie away fro me/My connynge and lecture/by whithe I
shold mowe atteyne to gretter possessions than that, du=
rynge my lyf/can not be takien from me/As touchynge
to you madame, It shal be in your free choyse, whether ye
wil be yde or studye. And yf it please you to studye, ther
shal be none so hardy to brekie your plesaũt thoughtes in
that byhalue. ne ther shal no chaterynge or Janglynge
of vnchast wymmen lette your studye or cause you to fe=
re. of the stable loue of your true seruaũt. And the cau=
se of oure mareyage/shal with Joyous loue right sone be
had/to your playsyr/I truste to our godes no doubte of,
Thordre of matrymony is as it were a dyuyne relygion
ffor the conseruacion of mankynde, to the whiche yf it
shal please you tentende/in suche wyse as I haue saidy. I
truste ye shal thynke youre self euir here aftir dutynge

youre lyf more and⁹ more fortunat, ffor what maye be more blessyd⁹ in this temporal lyf for you, than to passe youre age in tranquyll Joyousnesse, vertue, and noble fame. And⁹ what is more vertuous than to occuppe youre mynde in good & vertuo⁹ thoughtes, and what more ioyo⁹ than to take hym for your perpetuel seruaunt, that soueraynly delyteth in that, which ye chyefly desyre/ Therfore ye faders conscript / in whos grete wysedomes resteth the Jugement and conclusion of this contrauersye, beye ye in your brestys what J haue said, and publysshe ye ryply and soone youre sentence touchyng this contencion/ We stryue for nobilesse/ and whiche of vs two shold⁹ be reputed more noble/ And in that byhalue our lyf, our fortune our studye and maners/ hold⁹ it. they were wel knowen to youre noble aduertences, yet now they be in bryefe remembred/ Neuertheles thyssue of this contrauersye is this This day honeste stryueth with vnshamefastnes/ contynence with luste/ Magnanymyte with Cowardyse/ lectrure with Jnscience, and⁹ vertue with neglygence, And⁹ whether of thise partyes is the better, J leue it to youre dome and⁹ sentence:

Thus endeth thoracion of Gayus Flammyneus

As touchyng the sentence dyffynytyf gyuen by the Senate aftir thise two noble knyghtes had⁹ purposed and⁹ shewed theyr Oracions J fynde none as yet pronounced ne gyuen, of whiche myn auctour maketh ony mencion of in his book/ Thenne J wolde demaunde of theym that

ſhal rede or here this book. Whiche of thies tweyne that is: to ſaye Cornelius Scipio and Gayus Flammy=neus was mooſt noble. And in whiche of theym bothe. aftir the contente of theyr cracions that nobleſſe reſteth And to hym Juge ye this noble and vertuous lady Bur=ceſſe to be maryed. Andy here I make an ende of this mater for this tyme/Prayeng and requyryng all theym that in this ſaidy werke ſhal haue ony playſyre / that ye will remembre hym that tranſlated it in to our maternal and Englyſſh tongue/And not only this ſaidy werke but the book of Tullius de Amicicia here to fore en=prynted whith treateth ſo wel of frendſhip & amyte/I mene the right vertuoy and noble Erle. therle of Wurceſ=tre/whiche late pytouſly loſt his lyf/whos ſoule I recom=mende vnto youre ſpecial prayers. and alſo in his tyme made many other vertuous werkys/whiche I haue herdy of/O goody bleſſydy lord gody. what grete loſſe was it of that noble vertuous andy wel diſpoſedy lordy/whan I re=membre and aduertyſe his lyf/his ſcience. andy his ver=tue/me thynkith gody not diſpleſyd. ouer grete a loſſe of ſuche a may/conſyderyng his eſtate and conning. Andy alſo the ocraiſe of the ſame. With the grete laboures in gooyng on pylgremage vnto Jheruſalem viſytyng there the holy places. that oure bleſſyd lord Jheſu Criſte halo=wedy thith his bleſſydy preſence. Andy ſhedyng there his precious bloody for ouze redempcion. Andy from thens aſcended vnto his fader in heuen. And what worſhip hady he at Rome in the preſence of ouze holy fader the pope. Andy ſo in alle other places vnto his deth / At whiche

deth euery man that was there. myght lerne to dye and take his deth paciently/wherin I hope and doubte not/but that god receyued his soule in to his euerlastyng blysse for as I am enformed he ryght aduysedly ordeyned alle his thynges as well for his last wyll of worldly goodes as for his sowle helthe. & pacyently and holyly without grudchyng in charyte to fore that he departed out of this world/whiche is gladsom and Joyous to here. Thenne I here recommende his sowle vnto youre prayers/and also that we at our departyng maye departe in suche wyse/that it maye please our lord god to receyue vs in to his euerlastyng blysse. Amen:

Explicit per Caxton

C Tullius de amicicia, in Englyſh.

C Here after enſueth a goodly treatyſe of amyte or frendſhyp/compyled in latyn by the moſt eloquente Romayne Marcus Tullius Cicero/and lately tranſlatyd in to Englyſhe.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

Quintus Mutius Augur Scuola/ thys was hys name/ whyche was wonte to telle many thynges merely and by mynde of Caius Lelyus his fader in lawe/ And he was not aferde to call him a wyse man in all hys saynges. To the whyche Scuola I was put by my fader. And after ỳ or I had take the clothyng due to the astate of man/ whyle I myght or ỳ yt was leefull to come so to doo/ I neuer departed fro ỳ good olde mannys syde/ of whom I lerned many thynges dysputed repely And many thynges sayd compendyously/ And behouely suche I bare away/ doyng me payne by meanes of hys wysdom to fynde my selfe the better taught. And after hys decesse/ I was with a nother Scuola a bysshop: the whyche I dare well saye the most excellent man in wysedom and iustyce. But no force of ỳ at thys tyme/ I will retorne to the fyrst Scuola. Whan he lyked to telle vs of many thynges syttyng in his chayer/ as he was wont to do at home/ as I am well remembred whyle I was there a fewe of my seruauntis with hym/ yt fortuned hym to fall in suche spechez as well nyghe was in euery mans mouth. Attice ye remēbre well as I trowe and moch the rather that ye were conuersaunt with Publius Supplicius Whan he was one of the Tribunys of the people/ how he fell at variaūce and at dedly hate with hym Quintus Pompeius that tyme cōsul. And syth he had lyued with hym in great nyghnes of loue/ how great meruayle and complaynt was had of the people ye your selfe knowe well. And whan Scuola had fallen thus in this langage/ he declared thus ỳ wordes whych Lelius had vsed vnto hym of frendshyp/ and hys sonne in lawe Scanius the sone of Marcus with in fewe dayes after the deth of Scipio Affrycan. The sentences of the whych dysputacyon/ I bare surely in my remembraunce/ and haue dysposed the same in thys boke as me semeth/ and therwith introduced the same persones in spekyng to gyders/ lest yf I made my boke otherwyse/ I shold vse to ofte/ quoth I and quoth he. And therfore moch the rather I dyde yt/ that yt shold seme/ as yf the same persones had ỳ same langage. And Attice syth ye haue oft entreted me to wryte somwhat of frendshyp/ It semeth me ỳ yt sytteth me ryght well to do so/ as well for it was a thyng due and necessarye to ỳ knowlege of all peple/ as to the great familyarite and frēdshyp bytwene vs tweyne. Therfor I haue obeyed not vngladly thentent/ that by thaccomplissheme̅t of your desyre I shold moue do profyte to many one. But in lyke wise as I dyde in my boke which I wrote vnto you of age entytled Cato Maior where I enduced the olde